

Clarendon Press Series

A PRIMER
OF
ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY

BY THE
REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, LITT.D.

LL.D. EDIN., M.A. OXON.

*Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon
in the University of Cambridge*

'The language which at this day we employ is the result of
processes which have been going forward for hundreds and for
thousands of years.'

TRENCH, *English Past and Present*; Lect. I

Oxford

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PREFACE



IN the present little book, I merely endeavour to draw out a general sketch of some of the more important principles which should be observed by all who pretend to have any acquaintance with English etymology. The general ignorance of even the most elementary notions on the subject, as perpetually exhibited in our periodical literature, is truly deplorable, owing probably to the fact that anything like a scientific treatment of etymology is of comparatively modern growth. It is also not a little remarkable that the history of the English language, and particularly of the changes in its pronunciation, is seldom found to be amongst the subjects which ‘every school-boy knows.’ A person wholly ignorant of botany would hesitate, in these days, to dash headlong into a botanical subject; but similar caution, as respects the study of etymology, is frequently scouted as displaying a needless timidity. Every man, as was once observed to me, thinks that he can drive, and that he can derive.

Owing to the great difficulty of including the history of the various elements of the language, I have confined myself entirely to that portion of English which constitutes the native element. The facts concerning it are of more importance than those which concern even words imported from Latin ; besides which, they are at the same time shamelessly neglected. I do not think I have included anything which is not essential and elementary.

In the attempt to be brief, I may sometimes have become obscure ; and sometimes, perhaps, inexact, which is even worse. Daily study increases the fear of going wrong ; but I trust that I have avoided serious mistakes, and that the work may have its value for beginners.

For the phonetic symbols used, see p. 19. The value of (ə) varies slightly, according to the accent ; see p. 20. The symbol (y) = G. *ü* ; the E. *y* in *you* is denoted by (*y*).

I must not conclude without expressing my grateful thanks to Mr. A. J. Wyatt, B.A., formerly Scholar of Christ's College, who has been so good as to read over the proof-sheets, and to suggest several improvements. For the final form in which the book has appeared I am, of course, entirely responsible.

CAMBRIDGE ;

Feb. 6, 1892.

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PRIMER OF ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

SOURCES OF THE LANGUAGE : THE HISTORY.

1. **Introductory.** The student of English etymology should first of all consider the vocabulary of our language, as current at the present day, though he will frequently have occasion to consider words once current, but now obsolete or obsolescent. The object of the etymologist is to explain the whole history, so far as it is known, of the spelling or FORM of a given word, and of the changes, if any, that have taken place in the SOUND of the word when spoken. It must be always borne in mind that the SPOKEN word, and that alone, is THE WORD ITSELF ; the written form is only its picture or representation to the eye, and frequently represents it imperfectly. Unfortunately, we are only able, by means of reading and writing, to discuss, in general, the imperfect picture. We can only make an approach to a clear conception of the true sound, i. e. of the true word, by the use of some kind of phonetic alphabet. An alphabet which serves this purpose to a considerable extent will be given and explained further on (p. 19).

2. **Composite nature of English.** The present vocabulary of the English language is extremely composite, being made up of many elements ; and the accessions to the language from various foreign sources have taken place at very various dates. In order to understand this, it is necessary to consider the leading facts of English history ; for it will readily be perceived, that the growth of the language must necessarily have depended upon the growth of the nation. The history of the successive forms of a given word can, usually, only be understood by paying a close and due regard to CHRONOLOGY.

3. **Early history.** The beginning of English is pre-historic ; and a great deal can often be safely inferred as to the old forms of many common words at a date long antecedent to that at which they were first written down. Our language, in its earliest form, emerges into history as the native speech of certain Low-German tribes who first obtained a firm footing in England in the middle of the fifth century (about A.D. 450). Even before their arrival here, they had come in contact with the Romans, and had borrowed a few words from Latin, such as those which now appear as *camp*, *mile*, *pine* (punishment), *wine*. On their arrival, they found the country in the possession of men of various Celtic races, many of whom had received from the Romans a high degree of civilisation. Indeed, it should be remembered that, at that time, the common language of the more educated classes, among the British, was Latin, which was in use as a literary language and as the language of the British Christian church. Hence, these Low-German tribes found no great necessity for learning ancient British ; and this at once explains the fact, which would otherwise be extraordinary, that

modern English contains but a very small Celtic element. It may be added that, even of this small element, a considerable part is more or less modern, and by no means goes back to the fifth or sixth centuries. But the Anglian, Frisian, Saxon, and Jutish invaders actually borrowed from the Britons a few Latin words in addition to the few acquired on the continent; examples occur in *port*, a harbour, from the Lat. *portus*; *wall*, from the famous Lat. *uallum* (in which *u* was then pronounced as E. *w*); and *wick*, a town, from the Lat. *uicus*. *Street* is another word which belongs to this period; and we may even add *pool* (Welsh *pwll*), from the curious Low-Lat. *padulis*. It is also worth while to say here, expressly, that Latin is a language from which English has borrowed at nearly all dates, from the fifth century down to the present time.

4. **Introduction of Christianity.** The first English were not Christians, like the Celts whom they conquered, but heathens. The introduction of Christianity amongst us began with the conversion of Æthelberht by St. Augustine, A.D. 597; we may conveniently date it about A.D. 600. This introduced several Latin terms, chiefly ecclesiastical; and it is curious to remark that, of these words, about a third part are not native Latin, but Greek words in a Latin spelling. An example of a Latin word thus introduced is *candle* (A. S. *candel*, L. *candela*); and of a Greek word, is *apostle* (A. S. *apostol*, L. *apostolus*, Gk. ἀπόστολος). The net result is that, by the year 800, the vocabulary of English had been increased by the accession of a few Celtic words, and at least 140 Latin words, of which some 50 were not native Latin, but had been borrowed from Greek. Even of the last set, some few

were not original Greek, but borrowed from Hebrew or from some other Eastern language. Examples appear in the scriptural word *cummin* or *cumin*, which is of Hebrew origin; in *hemp*, allied to Skt. *çana* (hemp); and in *paper*, which was originally Egyptian. These examples shew from what very varied sources an English word may take its beginning.

5. The Danish invasions. In the ninth and tenth centuries England was continually and persistently harassed by invasions of the Danes, many of whom made good their footing here, and never returned to the continent. These men spoke various Scandinavian (more briefly, Scandian) dialects, more closely allied to Icelandic than to any other modern speech. The Old Icelandic and other Old Norse dialects of that period were akin to English, and it could not have been difficult for a Dane and a native Northumbrian to understand each other's talk; hence it easily came to pass that English imported, even in the tenth century, a considerable number of Scandian words, some of which, such as *cast* and *call*, are highly important verbs in common use. This movement was increased at the beginning of the eleventh century by the ascendancy of the famous Cnut, who reigned from 1016 to 1035, and was a ruler having no small power and influence. It is, however, a fact that these Scandian words were at first current only in common everyday speech, and some time elapsed before they attained to the dignity of appearing in literature. Few of them were written down, at any rate in documents still extant, before the year 1200. The verb *to cast* occurs in *Hali Meidenhad* (i. e. Holy Maidenhood, ed. Cockayne, p. 41), a homily written about 1230. Nevertheless, the

period of Danish influence, though later than 850, preceded the Norman Conquest in 1066. *Call* occurs in the *Battle of Maldon*, A. D. 993.

6. **The Norman invasion and Conquest.** The next great event, and the greatest in all our history, was the conquest of England by the Normans in 1066. These Normans, or Northmen, belonged to a race of Danish origin, who once spoke a dialect near akin to that Old Norse which is so well preserved in modern Icelandic; but, during their residence in Normandy, they had actually given up their native language, and adopted the French dialect spoken by the inhabitants of the province they had conquered. Hence it was that, though they were by no means Frenchmen themselves, they introduced into England a variety of the French language. It is a curious fact, that this was not quite a novelty in England, inasmuch as Edward the Confessor's relations with Normandy had already caused the Norman dialect to be heard occasionally at his court. This Norman dialect continued in England as a spoken language, chiefly amongst the upper classes and the clergy and in the law-courts, for more than three centuries; and it will be readily understood that, being to a great extent isolated from the dialects spoken in France itself, it soon acquired peculiarities of its own, and gradually diverged from the Norman of Normandy. It is therefore necessary to term it 'Anglo-Norman' or 'Anglo-French.' The former of these is the more correct title in theory; but, as it is constantly liable to be incorrectly shortened to 'Norman,' it is far better, in practice, to call it 'Anglo-French,' which of course means French as spoken in England, and cannot be misunderstood.

7. **Anglo-French.** As in the case of Old Norse or

Scandian, it took a long time for English to absorb any large number of Anglo-French words ; not much progress was made in this direction for nearly two centuries, i. e. till 1250. But, after this date, there came a period during which both the races and the languages which they spoke began to be fused together, a process which at last went forward rapidly ; so that, by the year 1350, a large number of Anglo-French words had been wholly incorporated into the native tongue ; to such an extent, indeed, as materially and permanently to change the character of its vocabulary. Such words as *grace*, *peace*, *fame*, *beef*, *case*, all of Anglo-French origin, are as much a part and parcel of our modern English language as are *kindness*, *rest*, *shame*, *ox*, and *care*, which are 'native' words, i. e. words already in use in the days of Alfred the Great. The effect of this extension of the vocabulary was that Anglo-French soon ceased to exist separately as a spoken language, and by the year 1400 was as good as dead. All that survived of it were two portions, viz. the words that had become a part of English, and the technical language of the law-courts. The latter was artificially continued, as a written language, by the fact that all law-proceedings were invariably recorded either in Latin or in Anglo-French down to the year 1730, when they were, for the first time, recorded in English. About the year 1400, or early in the first half of the fifteenth century, Anglo-French entirely ceased to affect our ordinary English speech.

8. Central French. Just as Anglo-French was ceasing to affect our vocabulary, the borrowing of words from continental French, which had already begun anterior to this date, proceeded at a greater rate. A knowledge of the French of Paris was often acquired by Englishmen who

could speak Anglo-French, especially during the reigns of Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II. Hence it became natural for the English tongue to lay this dialect under contribution when the Anglo-French supply failed. In order to distinguish the continental French from the Anglo-French, it is best to call the former by the name of 'Central French,' which means the French dialect of the central part of France, including Paris. Many Central French words appear in the writings of Chaucer and Lydgate, but more especially in the works of Caxton and in books printed by our early printers; and this borrowing has continued down to the present day, though not always at the same rate. This name of 'Central French' is also useful to distinguish two different forms of Parisian French, differing only as regards their date. The Parisian French of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries can be distinguished by the above name from the more modern form of it, which may be called 'French' simply.

9. French (of modern times). In the modern English period, especially during the reigns of Charles II and James II, i. e. in the latter part of the seventeenth century, a great impulse was given to the borrowing of French words; the result of this movement is clearly seen in the works of Dryden and his contemporaries. Many of these words are useful enough, but they sometimes betray their late origin by some peculiarity of pronunciation. For example, the word *gendarme*, though used by Dryden, still retains much of the French pronunciation. In the modern word *chandelier*, the *ch* is pronounced like E. (sh), i. e. as in modern French; whereas, in the older word *chandler*, the *ch* is pronounced like E. (ch), i. e. as it was in Anglo-French. Hence it is that,

especially in the case of words borrowed from French, chronology plays (as it always does more or less) a highly important part. 112

10. The Modern period; since 1500. About the year 1500 or a little later, English entered upon its latest stage. The period called the Renaissance, or the revival of letters and arts, was one of especial importance. Greek began to be taught at Cambridge about 1540, and one result has been the influx into English of a considerable number of Greek words, in addition to such as had been previously introduced through the medium of Latin. Surrey and Wiat and others introduced a knowledge of Italian literature, which soon had a great effect, especially upon the drama. Several Italian words came in through this and other influences, either directly, or through the medium of French. The discoveries of Columbus and the opening up of the New World brought us into contact with Spanish, and many names of things obtained from the West Indies came to us in a Spanish form. The English victories in India, beginning with the battle of Plassey in 1757, have made us acquainted with numerous East-Indian words; and English maritime adventure has brought us words from nearly all parts of the world. During the resistance of the Netherlands to Spain, in the time of Elizabeth, English borrowed several words from Dutch; it was not uncommon for English volunteers to go over to Holland to aid in the repulse of the Spaniards. English has also borrowed, chiefly in quite modern times, several words from German, and even from more remote continental languages, including Russian, and even Turkish and Hungarian. In fact, there are few languages from which we have failed to borrow words, either directly or

indirectly. It often requires a little patience to discover from what foreign language a word has been borrowed, and at what period. It is some help to remember that most of the words taken from remote and somewhat unlikely sources have been borrowed during the Modern Period, i. e. since 1500.

11. Various periods of English. The division of English into various periods, for the purpose of analysis, is a purely empirical and artificial matter, as there is nowhere any well-marked line of division during the whole history of the language; for the plain reason that discontinuity was impossible. Even the most sudden and violent changes required some time for their full development. It is, however, useful to make the following arbitrary arrangement.

1. The Old English Period; from A. D. 450 till about 1200; see § 12 below. English words of this period are frequently quoted as 'Anglo-Saxon,' and denoted by the symbol 'A. S.' But it must be borne in mind that there are at least three subdivisions of this period, which may be called (1) Early Anglo-Saxon (E. A. S.), from A. D. 450 till after 900; (2) Anglo-Saxon (A. S.) from 900 till 1100; and (3) Late Anglo-Saxon (L. A. S.), from 1100 to 1200. The assignment of these dates is, as has been said, arbitrary; but marked differences can easily be shewn to exist between the different subdivisions of this Period.

2. The Middle-English Period. This highly important period lasted from about A. D. 1200 to 1500. It likewise exhibits three well-distinguished subdivisions, viz. Early Middle-English, frequently shortened to Early English (E. E.), from 1200 to 1300; Middle-English (M. E.)

of the fourteenth century ; and late Middle-English of the fifteenth century, also commonly marked 'M.E.,' though obviously more modern in character than the preceding in many particulars.

3. **The Modern English Period.** This period begins somewhere about 1500, being preceded by the invention of printing, which was introduced into England in 1477. It is frequently subdivided into Tudor-English (about 1500-1600) and modern English ; and it is often convenient to extend the former to the year 1616, the date of the death of Shakespeare, or even later. Tudor-English is often spoken of as 'Elizabethan English,' which is sufficiently accurate to be intelligible.

12. **Old English Period : definition of 'Anglo-Saxon.'** The term Anglo-Saxon is often used as if it were convertible with Old English ; but this is not precisely its technical meaning. The true technical sense in which the word can be practically used without danger of mistake will now be defined. It is not, perhaps, the most scientific term that could have been chosen ; but its use is so well established that it is better to define it than to try to do without it.

The fact is, that the Old English contained several dialects, three of which are actually found in literary use, though the remnants of two of them are very scanty. These three dialects are : (1) Northumbrian ; (2) Mercian ; and (3) Wessex or Anglo-Saxon. It is from the second of these, viz. the Mercian or Old Midland dialect, that our modern literary English is mainly derived ; and it is, accordingly, to this dialect that we should first apply ourselves, if we wish to gain the most exact information. But unfortunately, the remains of Northumbrian and Old

Mercian are too scanty to be of much practical use; whereas the extant specimens of the Southern, or Wessex dialect (to which the name of 'Anglo-Saxon' was long ago applied) are fairly abundant and accessible. Moreover, there was a close resemblance, especially as regards the vocabulary, between the Mercian and Wessex dialects; so that we are very glad to avail ourselves of the Wessex or 'Anglo-Saxon' forms, in default of something a little more exact. This is why the 'A. S.' form is usually quoted in discussing the etymologies of native English words; though there are cases in which it entirely fails to give us any light. Thus the modern E. *are*, a very common and highly important form, is clearly not derived from the A. S. *sindon*; whereas it exactly corresponds to the Old Mercian *arun*, which, in that dialect, took the place of the Wessex form *sindon*. In the following pages, A. S. forms will be freely quoted, though it will now be understood that they do not always exhibit the true prototypes of our modern English words.

13. The most considerable specimen of Old Northumbrian is to be found in the Northumbrian glosses to the four Latin gospels, as preserved in the Cotton MS. (Nero D. 4) in the British Museum; a MS. which is also known as the Lindisfarne Gospels, or again, as the Durham book. Another copy of the Latin Gospels, known as the Rushworth MS., and preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, also exhibits Northumbrian glosses throughout the gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John; but they are not of much value, as they are frequently merely copied from the older glosses in the Lindisfarne MS.¹

¹ All printed in the Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Gospels, ed. Skeat; Cambridge, 1871-87.

At the same time, the glosses in the Rushworth MS. to the gospel of St. Matthew are of great interest, being actually in a Midland dialect. Other examples of Mercian occur (1) in the 'Vespasian Psalter,' i.e. a copy of a Latin psalter and hymns with Mercian glosses, extant in MS. Cotton, Vespasian A. 1, in the British Museum; and (2) in the 'Corpus Glossary,' i.e. a collection of Latin words, with Mercian glosses, extant in MS. No. 144 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge¹. The remains of Mercian are sufficient to shew its true character, but they have hardly, as yet, been examined with such close scrutiny as they certainly deserve to be.

Specimens of the Southern dialect, commonly called Anglo-Saxon, are perfectly accessible, and may be readily examined; see Sweet's *A. S. Primer* and *A. S. Reader* for abundant examples. It is a sad reflection that the famous poem of *Béowulf*, which refers to events of the sixth century, has only come down to us in a late A. S. manuscript of the tenth century, written out by a scribe who was sometimes so puzzled by its archaic diction as to write down word-forms that do not always afford any exact sense. But we must be thankful for what we have.

14. Dialects of Middle-English. After the Norman Conquest, we still find the same three leading dialects, continuing in literary use down to the time of the Wars of the Roses, in the fifteenth century. During this period, they are usually simply called Northern, Midland, and Southern. As before, the remains of the Northern dialect are at first but scanty, at any rate till we arrive near the end of the thirteenth century. We then have,

¹ Both printed in *Oldest English Texts*, ed. Sweet; Early English Text Society.

however, some well-marked specimens, of which it may suffice to mention the Northumbrian Psalter, written down in the time of Edward II, but of slightly earlier date; the *Cursor Mundi* (about 1320), a very long religious poem, only lately printed, the glossary to which will shortly appear; the *Pricke of Conscience*, by Richard Rolle of Hampole, about A.D. 1340; and Barbour's *History of King Robert Bruce*, written in 1375, though the existing MSS. are both a century later. In the fifteenth century, this dialect is represented, in its Lowland-Scotch variety, by some famous writers, such as King James I (of Scotland), and Robert Henryson; and again, in the sixteenth century, by William Dunbar, Gawain Douglas, and Sir David Lyndsay. Even in the last century, we have splendid specimens of its more modern form in the works of Robert Burns; and still later, in those of Sir Walter Scott. The Northumbrian dialect extended, in fact, from the Humber as far north as Aberdeen, comprising, of course, many sub-dialects which, in some points, differed considerably.

But in the Middle-English period, the **Midland dialect** gradually came wholly to the front, and has ever since led the way. Its ascendancy was inevitable, owing to the advantages of its position. It was intelligible both to the Southerner and the Northerner, and united the happier characteristics of both. It was somewhat fuller in its grammatical inflexions than the Northern, and thus more exact and convenient for literary purposes; whilst, in the same particulars, it was less complicated than the Southern, and therefore more easily acquired. It also had another advantage over the Northern dialect in the fact that it contained more Anglo-French words. It was not till a

later date that Lowland-Scotch so freely adopted words from the Central French. Before the time of Geoffrey Chaucer, the most famous master of this dialect, we already have the curious poem called the *Ormulum*, hardly later than 1200, the lay of *Havelok the Dane* (shortly before 1300), and so important a writer as Robert Manning of Brunne (only a few years later). The fact, that the Midland dialect was the principal one spoken in Oxford, Cambridge, and London, also contributed not a little to its ascendancy.

In the same period, the **Southern dialect**, which, as we have seen, was of so great importance before the Norman Conquest, was gradually but surely surpassed by its Midland rival, and at last entirely distanced in the race. Its comparative complexity, and certain rather exaggerated peculiarities of pronunciation, rendered it less fit for extended use; and it is remarkable that the *Ayenbite of Inwyte* (or *Remorse of Conscience*), a piece written in Kentish prose by Dan Michel of Northgate in 1340, is much more difficult to make out than either the *Northern Cursor Mundi* of about 1320, or the *Midland Handlyng Synne* (by Robert of Brunne), written in 1303. Another remarkable specimen of Southern English is seen in Trevisa's translation of Higden's (Latin) *Polychronicon*, written in 1387; after which date the literary use of this dialect practically disappears. The latest good example of its use is seen in the Dorsetshire poems by William Barnes, in the present century.

I believe it will be found that whilst, before the Conquest, the Midland dialect inclined towards alliance with the Southern, the contrary tendency has since existed, so that it afterwards inclined to the Northern. From the

latter dialect it has borrowed the common and highly important pronominal forms *they*, *them*, and *their*.

Since 1500, we usually find but two dialects, the Northern and the Midland, commonly distinguished by the names of Scotch and English ; but the more important peculiarities of the former are also found in the northern counties of England, so that the real Northern dialect extends, as it always did, as far south as the Humber, and is not to be looked upon as terminating at the Tweed. ✓

CHAPTER II.

SYMBOLS AND SOUNDS.

✓

15. **Anglo-Saxon Symbols.** The history of the actual symbols employed in MSS. and printed books need not detain us long. The ancient British acquired the use of the Roman or Latin alphabet, which is also the one upon which our modern print is founded. The symbols, as written by them, acquired some characteristic peculiarities, and these were imitated by Anglo-Saxon scribes, who took this Celto-Latin alphabet as they found it, but added a few symbols of their own, also founded upon Latin originals. The principal additions were the symbols following, viz. ‘æ, þ, ð, ƿ.’ Here ‘æ’ represented a vowel-sound intermediate between *a* and *e*; ‘þ’ and ‘ð’ were both used to represent *th*, and might very conveniently have been used with different values, viz. ‘þ’ to represent the *th* in *thin*, and ‘ð’ to represent the *th* in *then*; but in practice the scribes made no such distinction. Lastly, ‘ƿ’ was used to represent our modern *w*. It is quite easy to give the exact spellings of Anglo-Saxon words by using modern type, with but slight modifications. We have only to include ‘æ’ among the vowels, and to add ‘þ’ and ‘ð’ to the consonants; for ‘þ’ can be replaced by ‘w’ with great advantage. It is necessary, however, to have means for distinguishing long vowels from short ones. The

scribes frequently (but not always) used a slanting stroke to denote vowel-length; so that, e. g., the symbol 'á' denoted a long or prolonged 'a.' It is frequently convenient to use 'ā,' as in Latin, in the same way.

16. Anglo-French symbols. But, after the Norman Conquest, the A. S. forms of the Latin letters were gradually replaced by French ones, which the Anglo-French scribes borrowed from the continent. These French symbols were mere varieties of the same Latin letters as before, so that the change was not violent. The symbol *æ* and the marks denoting vowel-length soon disappeared; and the A. S. 'p' was replaced by a French 'w,' not unlike that which we still use. Most of these changes took place before 1300, by which date the symbol 'ð' had almost disappeared, though 'þ,' still denoting either sound of *th*, lingered on much longer. In the fifteenth century, the form of 'þ' was completely identified with that of 'y'; so that we find in our early printers such spellings as 'ye' for *the*, and 'yt' for *that*, used to save space. But the reader must not suppose that such words as *the* and *that* were ever pronounced like *ye* and *yat*! It was only the symbols, not the sounds, that were thus confused.

We also find, in Middle English, that the scribes commonly employ two forms of *g*. The French symbol for *g* was used to denote the *g* in *go* or *gem*; but, at the same time, the A. S. *g*, which resembled (and may be printed as) ȝ, was employed with no less than three values. At the beginning of a word it was often used in place of *y* (consonant), in such words as ȝe, ȝou, i. e. *ye, you*. In the middle of a word it represented a guttural sound which we still denote by *gh* in writing, though we

pronounce it no longer ; thus *lizt* is frequently written in M. E. (Middle English) instead of *light*. At the end of a word, the symbol often precisely resembled the symbol used for *z*, but this causes no trouble in practice. For example, it is clear that such a spelling as *fitz* can only mean *fitz* (fits), since it cannot possibly mean *fitgh*.

17. Perhaps the most important fact, in the whole history of our spelling, is that, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, our language was RE-SPELT ACCORDING TO THE ANGLO-FRENCH METHOD by scribes who were familiar with Anglo-French. To take a simple case, they often replaced the very common A. S. symbol *c* (which was always hard, like mod. E. *k*), by the symbol *k*. This latter symbol occasionally occurs in A. S., but is not common ; whereas the A. F. scribes used it freely. Hence the A. S. *cyn* was respelt as *kin* ; and *kin* it still remains. On the other hand, the A. F. *c* had the sound of *s* before *e* and *i*, and is therefore common, with this power, in words of A. F. origin, such as *certain* and *city*. The A. F. scribes also turned the A. S. *cw* into *qu*, as in A. S. *cwic*, M. E. *quik*, E. *quick*. They often used *u* (with the sound of *v*), and *y* as consonants, whereas in A. S. they were, usually, vowels only. They employed *i*, or its capital form *I*, to represent the A. F. (and mod. E.) sound of *j* in *joy*, a sound unknown in A. S. ; and they also introduced the new diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, *eu*, *oi*, as well as the consonantal combinations *ch*, *th*, and *sh* ; the latter was also written *sch*, but this combination gradually disappeared, and is now obsolete, at least for the purpose of denoting M. E. *sh*. *Gu* was never followed by a vowel in A. S. ; all such words as *guard*, *guise*, *guile*, are either of A. F. origin (as is the case with those words), or else

are new spellings, as in the case of *quest*, from A. S. *gæst*, and *guild*, needlessly substituted for the A. S. *gild*. The A. S. *hw* became *wh*. It is easy to give M. E. spellings by using modern type, if we add to our usual symbols the forms þ, ð, and ȝ. The first can, however, be replaced, if necessary, by *th*; the second is rare; and even the last may be replaced by *y* initially, by *gh* medially, and by *gh* or *z* finally, as the case may require. But the substitution of *z* for initial *y* is ridiculous; we can but smile when we find Bp. Percy gravely beginning a ballad with such a line as—‘*Quhy dois zour brand sae drap wi’ bluid*’; where the amazing word *zour* (in the MS. *ȝour*), is merely a travesty of the modern *your*.

18. Phonetic symbols: Vowels. In order to express the exact sounds of obsolete words, or of words sounded in a manner different from that now in use, it is absolutely necessary to use arbitrary, but invariable symbols. For this purpose, I employ a popular modification of the ‘romic’ alphabet used by Mr. Sweet, which, though not always quite exact, is sufficiently so for most practical purposes, and can be used to represent most of the M. E. (Middle English) and A. S. (Anglo-Saxon) sounds. These phonetic symbols are always enclosed within marks of parenthesis, and may be thus explained.

Pronounce (a, e, i, o, u) as in Italian, doubling them when long. Thus, in order to express the pronunciation of mod. E. *he*, write it as (hii).

SYMBOLS.

EXPRESSING THE SOUND OF

(a)	.	.	.	.	.	short (aa).
(aa)	.	.	.	.	.	a in father, baa.
(æ)	.	.	.	.	.	a in man.
(ae), or (èè),	i. e.	long open e	.	.	.	e in there, ai in hair.

SYMBOLS.

EXPRESSING THE SOUND OF

(ai)	y in fly.
(ao), or (òò) i. e. long open o	o in story.
(au)	ow in now.
(e), i. e. short open e	e in bed.
(ei)	ei in vein.
(æ), if accented	u in but.
(æ), if unaccented	a in China.
(æə)	ur in burn.
(i)	i in fill.
(ii)	ee in feel.
(o), i. e. short open o	o in not.
(oi)	oi in boil.
(ou)	o in no.
(u)	u in full.
(uu)	oo in fool.
(y)	ü in G. übel.
(yy)	ü in G. grün.

A few remarks are necessary. The (æ) is a common symbol in A. S., with the sound of mod. E. *a* in 'man'; (ae) represents, approximately, the same sound prolonged, but is here used for the long open *e* of the M. E. period, for which another symbol is (èè). The long obscure vowel (æə), as in E. *burn* (bæən), assumes that the *r* is entirely untrilled, which, unfortunately, is invariably the case in Southern English, and, commonly, in London. The long *o* of 'no' is expressed by (ou), because the *o* is impure, being followed by a slight sound of (u), produced by 'rounding,' i. e. a drawing together of the lips after the *o* has been sounded; this is more perceptible if the vowel is dwelt upon. The sounds represented by (y) and

(yy) were once common, but are now never heard except (rarely) in a few local dialects ; the (y) is also the same as the F. *u* in *du, nu*.

The Italian *e* (e) is both *close* (é) and *open* (è). Compare E. *mare's-tail* (mae'ez-teil, or mèè'ez-téil). The common E. short *e* approaches the *open* sound ; whilst the E. diphthong *ei* is a long close *e*, with a slight after-sound of *i*. As this is easily understood, it is sufficient to denote *bed* by (bed) instead of (bèd), and *vein* by (vein) instead of (véin).

The Italian *o* (o) is both *close* (ó) and *open* (ò). Compare E. *more, oh!* (mao'r ou, or mòèr óu) with Ital. *toro* (tao'roo, or tòèr'róó). The common E. short *o* has the *open* sound ; the impure *o* in *no* (nú) has the *close* sound ; and, as this is easily understood, it is sufficient to denote *not* by (not) instead of (nòt), and *no* by (nou) instead of (nú).

The raised dot (·) denotes the position of the accent, as in *mighty* (mai'ti), *city* (sit'i). ✓

19. Phonetic symbols : Consonants. The symbols *b, d, f, g* (always hard), *j, k, l, m, n, p, r* (only written when really trilled), *s, t, v, w, y, z*, can be employed with their usual values. Note that the hard *c* is denoted by (k), as in *cat* (kæt) ; but the soft *c* by (s), as in *city* (sit'i, or siti). The initial aspirate is denoted by (h), as in *hat* (hæt). Special symbols are the following, which should be learnt : (sh), for *sh* in *shall* (shæl) ; (zh), for *z* in *azure* (æzh'ə), or *ge* in *rouge* (ruuzh) ; (th) for *th* in *thin* (thin) ; (dh), for *th* in *then* (dhen) ; (kw), for *qu* in *queen* (kwiin).

The symbol (wh) represents the *wh* in *what, when, why* (whot, when, whai), as often pronounced in the North of

England and Scotland ; in London *wh* is usually sounded like *w*, and these words are pronounced as (*wot*, *wen*, *wai*).

The symbol (ng) denotes the *ng* in *singer* (sing'ə) ; and (ngg) denotes the *ng* in *linger* (ling'gə).

The most troublesome sound in modern English is that of *r*. The fact is, that the *r* is never trilled, in Southern colloquial English, except when a vowel follows ; and this rule applies whether the vowel occurs in the same word or in the next. It is therefore pronounced in *sparrow* (spær'ou), and in *here it is* (hiir it iz). But not in *barn* (baan, sometimes baaen) ; nor in *it is here* (it iz hiie). Many Londoners affirm that they pronounce the *r* when they merely substitute for it a slight pronunciation of the obscure vowel, as in (baaen) for *barn*. Observe the following : *bar* (baa) ; *hair* (haeə) ; *fire* (faie) ; *more* (maoə) ; *flower* (flauə) ; *fir* or *fur* (fəə) ; *moor* (muuə). Also : *tarry* (tæri), the verb, as distinguished from the adjective *tarry* (taa'ri) ; *hairy* (haeəri) ; *fiery* (faieri) ; *story* (staori) ; *flowery* (flauəri) ; *fury* (fiuu'ri, or rather fiuu'əri).

20. Voiceless and Voiced consonants. The difference between these is best heard by comparing such sounds as (*s*) and (*z*). *S* (*s*), if pronounced alone and prolonged, can be heard as a hiss ; but *z* (*z*), when pronounced alone and prolonged, produces, in addition, an audible buzz, which if uttered with force, can be made to resound quite loudly. Accordingly, *z* is called a voiced letter, because the utterance of it is accompanied by an emission of 'voice,' i. e. of breath made audible when passing through the vocal chords in the throat, which are relaxed in pronouncing *s*, but tightened in pronouncing *z*. The list of E. consonants that can be thus paired off is as follows :—

VOICELESS.	VOICED.	VOICELESS.	VOICED.
k	g	f	v
ch	j	s	z
t	d	sh	(zh)
th (th)	th (dh)	wh	w.
p	b		

This table is of great importance, because it concerns the pronunciation of all languages. The following rules are of wide application.

RULE 1. Voiceless consonants combine readily with voiceless ones, and voiced with voiced, Exx. *cats* (kæts), where *t* and *s* are voiceless ; but *dogs* (dogz), where *g* and *z* are voiced.

RULE 2. In such combinations, the *latter* sound usually remains unchanged in compound words, whilst the former gives way ; as in *cupboard* (kæb'æəd) ; and in *fifteen* for *five-teen*. But if the added sound is a mere suffix, then it is the *former* sound that holds its own ; as in *dogs* (dogz), *beds* (bedz), *breathes* (briidhz), *cabs* (kæbz), *loaves* (louvz) ; also in *looked* (lukt), *frothed* (frotht), *wrapped* (ræpt), *cuffed* (kæft), *hissed* (hist).

RULE 3. A voiceless consonant often changes (as seen above) into its *corresponding* voiced letter, as when *s* changes into (*z*) in *dogs* (dogz), from the A. S. *docgas* (dog'gas). This is called 'voicing.' The reverse process is 'unvoicing' ; as in *look'd* (lukt) for the older *look-ed* (luk'ed) or (luuk'ed). A voiceless consonant is often voiced between two vowels, precisely because it is in vocalic company ; thus the Lat. acc. *draconem* produced the F. *dragon*, E. *dragon*.

RULE 4 (as to *substitution*). When one consonant is

pronounced instead of another, a voiceless consonant is replaced by a voiceless one *only*; or a voiced one by a voiced one *only*. Exx. *the thing* is often pronounced by foreigners as (ze sing). No one says (se zing); it would be unintelligible. Many changes require *two* steps. Thus, in Latin, the preposition *ob*, when combined with *ferre*, necessarily became *opferre* by Rule 2; and next became *offerre* by Rule 4. Hence E. *offer*.

21. Accentuation. The E. accent or stress is one of great force, and so frequently modifies the form of a word, that it is necessary to observe a few elementary rules that formulate the results of its action.

It may be remarked, in general, that a common English habit is to throw the accent back. Formerly, the accent was on the second syllable of *contrary*; it is now on the first, and we say (kon'trəri).

RULE 1. When the length of a word is augmented, an original long vowel is apt to be shortened by the accentual stress falling upon it. Hence, also, an original short vowel remains short under like conditions.

To take an example of the latter first; the vowel in *hare* was once short, viz. in the A. S. form *hara* (hă'ra); it is still short in *harrier*. In *child*, the vowel was once short, viz. in the A. S. *cild* (kild); it remains short in *children*. In *throat*, the vowel was once short, viz. in the A. S. *þrote*, *þrotu* (throt'e, throt'u); it remains short in *throttle*.

The vowel of *heath* is shortened in *heather*, though not in *heathen*. The diminutive of *goose*, from A. S. *gōs* (goos), is *gos-ling*, by shortening of the A. S. *ō* to *o*. Compare also *wide* with *wid-th*; *room* with its derivative *rummage* (for *room-age*). Such vowel-shortening is well

marked in the past tenses of some weak verbs ; thus the M. E. *fēden* or *feeden* (feeden), to feed, made the past tense as *fēd-de*, with added *-de* ; hence the mod. E. *fed*.

In compound words, this effect is very marked. Exx. *bon-fire*, for *bone-fire* ; *hus-band*, *hus-tings*, and *hus-sif* or *hus-sy*, all derivatives from A. S. *hūs* (huus), a house, with long *u*. *White* yields the derivatives *Whitby*, *Whitchurch*, *whitster*, *whitleather*, and *Whitsunday* ; but the *i* is long in *whit-ing*, where the *t* is followed by a vowel. This shortening was due, in some measure, to the occurrence of *two* consonants after the vowel ; but we also find *fore-head* passing into *forehead* (for'ed, or for'id) ; *knowledge* pronounced as if riming to *college* ; &c.

RULE 2. In dissyllabic compounds accented on the former syllable, a long vowel in the latter syllable is frequently shortened by the *lack* of stress upon it.

Thus, in the A. S. *Dūn-stān* (=down or hill+stone), the *ā* has been shortened, and is now obscure. By Rule 1, the *ū* has also been shortened, because it is accented and precedes the cluster of consonants *nst*. Hence the mod. E. *Dunstan*. This example serves as a memorial word for remembering both rules. Remarkable examples occur in *bos'n*, *cox'n*, for *boat-swain*, *cock-swain*. The long *ū* of A. S. *hūs* (huus), a house, is shortened in the familiar *wash'us* and *work'us*, meaning *wash-house* and *work-house* respectively. *Waist-coat* (weist-kout) has become (wes'ket). 'Dash my *veskit*, says my father, I never thought of that' ; *Pickwick Papers*, ch. x.

The A. S. *dōm* (doom), doom, has become *-dom* (dom) or even (dəm) in suffixes ; as in *king-dom*. (king'dəm). The *day* in *Monday* has been reduced to *-dy* (di) in familiar

speech. By Rule 1, we see how *Mon-* represents the E. *moon*. In place-names, it is common to find that *-ton* is for A. S. *-tūn* (tuun), a town; and that *-don* is for A. S. *-dūn* (duun), a down; as in *Taun-ton*, *Nor-ton* (for North-town), *Sut-ton* (for South-town), *Elm-don* (for elm-down). Similarly, the old compound *wild-deer-ness* is now *wilderness*. (The *i* in *wild* was originally short.)

RULE 3. In dissyllabic words, the unaccented vowel may disappear.

Exx. *hern*, for *heron*, whence *hern-shaw*; *lov'd*, for *lov-ēd*; *lark*, for *laverock*; *since*, for the older *sithence*; *nor*, for M. E. *nother*; *or*, for M. E. *other*. The former vowel (together with a consonant) is lost in *sport*, for *disport*; *splay*, for *display*; *fend*, *fence*, for *defend*, *defence*. Hence the popular etymology which derives *tram* from the name of Mr. *Outram*, is seen to be an impossible fiction; the shortened form of *Outram* would be *Out* (uut).

RULE 4. In trisyllabic words, accented on the first syllable, the middle vowel, or even the whole of the middle syllable, may disappear.

Exx. *fortnight*, for *fourteen-night*; compare *sennight* for *seven-night*. *Forecastle* has become *fo'c'sle* (foks'l). *Butler* is from M. E. *botiler* (but'iler), which meant a 'bottler'; *buttery* is for *buttlery*, meaning 'bottle-ry,' and has lost an *l*. Such 'crushed' forms are particularly clear in the names of the days of the week, as in A. S. *mōnan-dæg* (moo'nan-dæi, originally -dæg), now *Monday*; &c. Examples are very common in place-names, as in *Glo'ster* for *Gloucester*, *Lem'ster* for *Leominster*, &c.

22. **Emphasis, or sentence-stress.** The effect of forming sentences is, in English, to throw a strong emphasis

or sentence-stress on to some words, and to weaken the stress on others. Unemphatic words are particularly liable to become less distinct in sound, voiceless letters becoming voiced, &c. Thus *to* and *too*, *of* and *off* are distinguished by emphasis, the former being the unemphatic, the latter the emphatic forms. We can say 'I go *to* London *too*,' or 'I saw him *off*, and saw the last *of* him.' The word *him*, if emphatic, keeps the *h*, as in 'I did not see *her*, but I saw *him*'; but if we say 'I saw him yesterday,' the *h* in *him* is weak, and is often dropped. Hence we can explain the loss of *h* in the unemphatic *it* (formerly *hit*), so common in the phrases '*it* rains' or '*it* snows.' Many other examples might be given of this principle. Perhaps one of the most remarkable is seen in the word *one*. When used as a numeral, it is emphatic, and is used in the form *one* (wən); but when it precedes a substantive, the accent is on the substantive, and it is weakened to *an* or *a*. Note the difference, moreover, between the word *an* (æn), when thus particularly alluded to, and therefore pronounced emphatically, and the same word as it occurs in the phrase *an hour* (ən auə).

NOTE. For an explanation of the sounds of the A. S. symbols, see Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer and Anglo-Saxon Reader.

For an explanation of the primitive Germanic Vowel-system, see Wright's Old High German Primer, Chapter II. In comparing E. words with Gothic, we should particularly notice that Gothic constantly has *i* for *e*, as in Goth. *itan* (for **etan*), A. S. *etan*, G. *essen*, Lat. *edere*, to eat. It also has *ai* and *au* instead of short *e* and short *o* before *r* and *h*; and the sounds denoted by these symbols were quite distinct from the long diphthongs *ai* and *au*.

It also has *ei* to express the sound of *ī* (ii). We should particularly notice the following diphthongs :—

GERMANIC	AI	EU	AU.
Gothic	<i>ai</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>au.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>ā</i>	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ēa.</i>
Icelandic	<i>ei</i>	<i>jō, jū</i>	<i>au.</i>

CHAPTER III.

MODERN ENGLISH SPELLING.

23. Few things are less understood than the history of modern English spelling ; and perhaps no subject of equal importance is usually treated, in our literary periodicals, with a greater display of ignorance. The fact is, that it cannot be adequately understood except by those who have made it their business to learn the history, not only of the WRITTEN FORMS, but of the SOUNDS which such forms were intended to denote.

It is common to denounce it as full of contradictions ; for, indeed, the fact is but too painfully obvious to every child. But such denunciation is no guide at all to the right answer to the question—HOW CAME WE TO SPELL AS WE DO ?

There is still extant a large class of readers who regard our present spelling with almost reverential adoration, as being a thing to which they have become quite accustomed, and which, solely on that account, is ‘correct.’ Some go so far as to call it ‘etymological,’ by which they merely mean that it often follows Latin and Greek habits. Such persons find it convenient to ignore the far more important portions of the language which are of native or of French origin. They insist that *system* must be spelt with *y*, because to do so shews ‘a knowledge of Greek’ ; but

the same reason would require the use of *barymeter* for *barometer*, the use of *Seiren* or *Siren* for *Syren*, of *aneurysm* for *aneurism*, and many other changes ; to say nothing of the iniquity, according to such a view, of pronouncing *clematis* with a short *e*, or *euphony* with a short *o*. They also ignore the fact that many Greek words came to us through the French, and that it would be ridiculous to spell one word *chirurgion* whilst pronouncing it *surgeon*, or to spell another word *cathedra* whilst pronouncing it *chair*. In the same way, the boasted 'etymological' spelling, even when compared with Latin, breaks down continually. There is no sense in writing *scent* instead of *sent*, for it conceals the connection with *sentire* ; nor in writing *scissors* as if from Lat. *scindere*, when it is really from Lat. *cædere* ; nor is it very 'classical' to write *style*, whilst the Lat. spelling is *stilus*. Instead of wrangling over what is 'correct,' it is much more helpful to enquire how it all came about. To say that English spelling is 'etymological,' merely because it sometimes keeps up or assumes Greek and Latin habits in spelling words of Greek and Latin origin, is very inadequate as a description of the facts.

24. When we come to the real history of the facts, we find that the reason for the actual spelling of every word can almost always be discovered ; but it always rests upon the HISTORY of the word, and the only sure way is to investigate every word separately. If I know, in the case of a given word, both the form and the sound of it at its first introduction into the language, and next the various ways in which both the form and the sound gradually changed, through all the centuries, down to the present day, I am *then* in a position to understand the

modern spelling of the word. Otherwise, I have no facts whereon to ground a reasonable opinion.

25. It will clear the way if we take a typical case. Why, for example, do we write *stone* to express the sound (stou) ?

The history is as follows. The A. S. and Mercian form was *stān* (staan). It belonged to a large class of masculine substantives, of a particular declension. There were numerous declensions in A. S., but this declension is of more importance than others, as it is, practically, that which superseded nearly all the rest, and is the original of countless forms in the modern language. The declension of the word was as follows :—

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
nom. acc. <i>stān</i> (staan).	<i>stānas</i> (staanas, staanaz).
gen. <i>stanes</i> (staanez).	<i>stāna</i> (staana).
dat. <i>stāne</i> (staane).	<i>stānum</i> (staanium).

In M. E. (Middle English), the sound *ā* (aa) gradually changed to (ao), the sound of *oa* in *broad*, for which, unluckily, the A. F. scribes had no special symbol. Very rarely, they wrote *ao*, but, in the fourteenth century, they wrote *oo* in monosyllables, and this *oo* was constantly represented by *o* in dissyllabic forms. The latter habit at last attacked monosyllables also, causing doubt and confusion. Moreover, the gen. pl. and dat. pl. lost their special suffixes, and were only indicated by the use of prepositions, or by the position of the word in the sentence. The form of the dative singular was often retained, even after the final *-e* had been dropped in pronunciation. Hence the M. E. scheme, an imperfect one, was as follows :—

SINGULAR.

nom. acc. *stoon, ston* (staon).

gen. *stoones, stones* (staonez, staonz).

dat. *stoone, stone, stoon, ston* (staone, staone, staon).

PLURAL.

nom. acc. gen. dat. *stoones, stones* (staonez, staonz).

It so happened that the dative case singular was in wide use, because formerly the prepositions *at, be* (by), *for, from, in, of, on, to* all governed this case. The genitive case and the plural also contained an *e*, and so at last the *e*, often not sounded, found its way into the nominative singular. Hence the Tudor-English scheme became: SINGULAR: nom. acc. dat. *stone* (staon); gen. *stones* (staonz), or rarely and archaically (staonez). And the plural was, throughout, the same as the genitive singular. The device of marking the latter with an apostrophe, as *stone's*, is quite modern; see my 'Specimens of English from 1394 to 1579.' It is curiously illogical, as the apostrophe implies omission, whereas nothing is omitted; logic requires the form *ston's*.

In Tudor-English, the necessity for distinguishing between the open *o* (ao) and the close *o* (oo, or ou) was so strongly felt, that the symbol *oa* came into partial use for this purpose. This symbol retains its true sense in the word *broad*. And as *stone* was still pronounced (staon), it was sometimes also written *stoan*. Latterly, the pronunciation has changed to (stoun), but the spelling has not altered since Tudor times.

It will appear from the above investigation that the form *stone* arose from the dative case, in which the *e* was

once sounded ; and, as the frequent use of *ston* for *stoon* in the nominative and accusative made the length of the vowel in the form *ston* uncertain, whilst in the dative case there was no such doubt, the use of a suffixed *e* after a *single* consonant¹ soon came to be associated with the idea of vowel-length, and it is now distinctly recognised as being the usual way of representing a long sound. It is an extremely poor contrivance, but it came about naturally enough. And now, at last, after all this investigation, the reason for the spelling *stone* becomes apparent.

In precisely the same way, other words must all be historically investigated, each one by itself. There is no other way.

Even the above investigation is imperfect, for it takes no account of dialectal varieties. The pronunciation given is that of the ordinary Midland dialect of the educated classes. Some writers, however, recognise other pronunciations. ✓

26. From the above history, we may draw the following general conclusions.

(1) The A. S. *ā* (aa) passed into M. E. *oo* or *o* (ao), mod. E. long *o* (ou). In many words, the length of the *o* is now indicated by the addition of final *e*, originally the suffix of the O. E. and M. E. dative. Exx. A. S. *hām* (haam), M. E. *hoom*, *hom* (haom), E. *home* ; A. S. *rāp*, a rope ; A. S. *pāpa*, pope ; A. S. *wrāt*, wrote ; A. S. *ābād*, abode ; A. S. *ārās*, arose ; &c. In the case of *wrote* and *arose*, the addition of final *e* was due to habit or analogy, as these words are not substantives.

¹ When the vowel was short, the consonant was doubled. Thus the M. E. gen. case of *cat* was not *cates*, but *cattes*.

(2) Tudor-English sometimes used *oa* to denote the sound of open *o* (*ao*); if the long vowel came at the *end* of a word, the symbol used was not *oa*, but *oe*. A knowledge of this fact helps us to construct the A. S. forms out of the mod. E. ones. Thus the A. S. for *oak* must have been *āc*; so also *oath*, A. S. *āþ* (*aath*); *loam*, A. S. *lām*; *foam*, A. S. *fām*; *road*, A. S. *rād*; *goat*, A. S. *gāt*; *toe*, A. S. *tā*; *doe*, A. S. *dā*; &c. The word *broad* is important, as it still keeps the M. E. sound; the A. S. form is, of course, *brād*.

(3) The spelling may remain unchanged whilst the pronunciation alters. Thus the early M. E. *stone* was pronounced (*staonə*); the form remains, but denotes a different sound.

(4) The spelling may be altered, whilst the pronunciation remains the same. Thus the M. E. *ook* (*aok*) was respelt as *oak* in Tudor-English; but this was due to the desire of expressing the same sound more exactly.

27. From a much more extended survey of the results of hundreds of examples, the following conclusions may be drawn.

(1) Anglo-Saxon spelling strove to be *phonetic*, and is so in a marked degree. The symbols used are letters of the Latin alphabet, usually with Latin values. Hence they are much the same as the symbols of the 'romic' alphabet, as given in §§ 18, 19. It is usually easy to pronounce an A. S. word correctly at first sight, whereas, in modern E., no one can be sure of the sound of a word till he hears it. The immense superiority of the old method is obvious. Exx. *nama* (*nama*), name; *stān* (*staan*), stone; *mē* (*mee*), me; *wīn* (*wiin*), wine; *gōs* (*goos*), goose; &c.

(2) In M. E., chiefly in the period from 1250 to 1350,

our language was entirely respelt by French scribes. But as the A. F. symbols were also Latin letters, many of which retained their Latin sounds, not much harm was done. The spelling remained *phonetic*, but was somewhat less exact and somewhat more complex than in earlier times.

(3) As time went on, the sounds changed more rapidly than the symbols did. This unlucky conservatism was intensified by the discovery of printing, which greatly tended to retain archaic forms, and petrified the spelling at a time when it was no longer satisfactory.

(4) Nevertheless, in Tudor-English, two new phonetic symbols came into use, and were of great value; viz. *oa* (ao) for long open *o*, and *ea* (ae, or èè) for long open *e*. The prevailing wish was, even then, to express sounds phonetically.

(5) But the revival of learning in the sixteenth century introduced a new and most pernicious idea, viz. that the spelling, which had previously been truly etymological precisely because it was phonetic, ought to aim at reproducing *to the eye* the forms from which words were derived, especially in the case of words derived from Latin and Greek. It is obvious that this idea was incompatible with the older one, and confusion of all kinds was the necessary result. In the time of Elizabeth, spellings were sometimes phonetic, and sometimes (if we may so term them) pedantic or retrospective; that is, there were two conflicting principles at work. Neither principle, even in its own immediate sphere, was fully carried out. For all this, the spelling still remained largely phonetic, and it is still possible to take up a book printed in the reign of Elizabeth, and to read it aloud

with the Elizabethan pronunciation, without making many mistakes ; i. e. when the very difficult pronunciation of that period has once been acquired.

(6) In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, great changes took place in our vowel-sounds, but the printers had so nearly fixed the spelling that sufficient changes were hardly possible ; at any rate, they were not made. The net result is, that we still spell words in much the same manner as in the days of James I. ; and a knowledge of the pronunciation of all the vowel-sounds *at that date* is the safest guide to the spelling of modern English words. Unluckily, this is precisely the knowledge which only a few students possess. So that the wide general rule—to spell words as they *used to be* pronounced—is of no use at all to the many.

(7) The admission of a second principle in spelling, as noted above, began the confusion ; the violent later changes in our vowel-sounds largely increased it. Hence the spelling of modern English is little better than chaos, at any rate to those who have never learnt anything about our old' pronunciations. The easiest way of illustrating the present state of things is to notice that the symbol *oo*, which of course ought to denote long *o*, actually denotes the sound of long *u* ; as in *cool* (*kuul*). No other language in Europe uses *oo* with this value. Yet again, the M. E. symbol for long *u* (*uu*) was *ou*, as in mod. French and even in the E. *soup group* ; but this symbol now usually denotes (*au*), as in *foul* (*faul*), *sound* (*saund*).

(8) After all, any symbols may safely be used to express any sounds, with perfect exactitude, if only they are always *invariable* for the same sound. The gravest fault of modern E. is precisely this, that the sounds

denoted by the symbols are extremely variable. Cf. *soup* (suup) with *sound* (saund), on the one hand; and *soup* (suup) with *loop* (luup) on the other. In the one case, the symbol is not changed, but the sound varies; in the other, the symbol is changed, but the sound is the same. The reason is this: *sound* and *loop* are normal spellings; but *soup* is mere modern French, and not a normal E. spelling at all.

28. Summary of the history. I have already touched, in a popular manner, upon most of the important points, with various remarks by the way. I here give a more exact summary of results, copied from my *Principles of English Etymology*, to which I must refer the reader for the full details which justify the various statements.

(1) The Celtic alphabet was borrowed from the Roman, and the Anglo-Saxon from the Celtic, but with a few additions.

(2) The A. S. pronunciation agreed with that of the continent, and with that of the Romans, in many important particulars, especially in the sounds of *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. The spelling was meant to be purely phonetic, and was fairly correct. Accents were employed to denote vowel-length. (The accent was a slanting stroke; thus *stān* (staan), a stone, was written *stán*).

(3) In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some sounds altered, but the spelling was still to a great extent phonetic, as it was meant to be. At the same time, Anglo-French words were introduced in ever-increasing numbers, and the A. S. symbols were gradually replaced by French ones. The language was, in fact, respelt by Anglo-French scribes, who employed a modified (continental) form of the Roman alphabet. The accents formerly employed to

denote vowel-length gradually disappeared, and the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, when long, were sometimes doubled.

(4) In the fourteenth century, further changes were introduced, and phonetic accuracy of representation was somewhat impaired. *Y*, which had early been confused with *i*, was used to form diphthongs. The diphthongs employed were: *ai* (*ai*, later *ei*), also written *ay*, especially at the end of a syllable or word; *au* or *aw* (*au*); *ea* (*ae*), very rare; *ei* or *ey* (*ei*); *eo* (*ee*?), rare; *eu* or *ew* (*eu*); *oe* (*yy*, or *ee*), very rare; *oi* or *oy* (*oi*); *ou* or *ow* (*uu*); *ui*, *uy*. Among the consonants, *i* or capital *I*, denoted (*j*); *u*, followed by a vowel, usually meant (*v*); *ȝ*, initially, denoted (*y* consonant), medially (*h*)¹, and, when final, sometimes (*ts*), later (*z*). Amongst the digraphs, we may notice: *ch* (*ch*); *gh*, the same as medial *ȝ*; *gu* (*gw*, *g*); *ng* (*ng*, *ngg*); *ph* (*f*); *sch* or *sh* (*sh*); *th* or *ȝ* (*th*, *dh*); *wh* (*wh*); *gn*, sometimes (*ny*), where *y*=*y* consonant. Also *cch* (*tch*); *ssh* (*sh-sh*); *ȝȝ*, or *tth*, or *thth* (*th-th*). A final (*jə*) was written *-ge*; and (*jjə*) as *-gge*, whence mod. E. *-dge*.

(5) About A. D. 1400, the sound of final *e*, already lost in the North, was lost in the Midland dialect also. When it remains, as in *bone*, it no longer forms a distinct syllable, but is employed to denote the length of the preceding vowel. Final *-en* commonly became *-e*, and followed its fortunes; the *-e* even remains after a short vowel in some cases, as in *come*. Final *-ed* and *-es* lingered as distinct syllables. Consonants were doubled after a short vowel in many words, especially if the consonant was followed by *e*, as in *bitter* for M. E. *biter*; but the rule was capriciously applied. *T* is doubled in *mettle*, but not in

¹ I use (*h*), when initial, to denote the *h* in *he*; but medially, as in (*liht*) to denote the G. *ch* in *Licht*.

metal; yet these are merely variant spellings of the same word.

(6) The invention of printing began to petrify the forms of words, and retarded useful changes. The use of an idle final *e* in the wrong place, as in *ranne* for M. E. *ran*, became extremely common; and the use of *y* for *i* was carried to a ridiculous excess. Caxton began to use final *ve* with the sound of (v), yet we still find final *ue* for (v) in the first folio of Shakespeare; even to this day we are not allowed to write a final *v* without an idle *e* after it; i. e. we write *give* for *giv*, merely because the M. E. *u* denoted a vowel, unless succeeded by *e*.

(7) After A. D. 1500, a new system of so-called etymological spelling arose, which was only applied to a *portion* of the language. French words were often ignorantly and pedantically altered, in order to render their Latin origin more obvious to *the eye*¹. The open and close sounds of long *o* were distinguished by writing *oa* (finally, *oe*), and *oo* respectively; the open and close sounds of long *e* were distinguished by writing *ea* and *ee*. Words with the spelling *ea* were, still later, long pronounced with the sound preserved in *great*; e. g. *tea*, *sea*, *beast* (tei, sei, beist). Even Cowper has *sea* (sei).

(8) English spelling, after 1500, was governed by two conflicting principles, viz. the *phonetic*, which chiefly concerned *popular* words (i. e. the oldest and commonest words in popular use), and the misnamed 'etymological,' which chiefly concerned *learned* words (i. e. words derived immediately from Greek and Latin). The former appealed to the ear, the latter to the eye. Neither of these principles

¹ Hence M. E. *comenden* became *commend*; and, by association, M. E. *comencen* became *commence*. But cf. Ital. *cominciare*.

was consistently carried out, and the ignorant meddlingness of the latter introduced many false forms. Thus *sythe* and *sent* were mis-spelt *scythe* and *scent*, because an *sc* was written in the 'classical' word *science*.

(9) The changes in spelling since 1600 are comparatively trifling, and are chiefly due to the printers, who aimed at producing a complete uniformity of spelling (i. e. for the same word), which was practically accomplished shortly before 1700. The modern use of *i* and *u* as vowels only, and that of *j* and *v* as consonants, are really improvements. *Have* is better than *hawe*; but *hav* would have been better still.

(10) The changes in pronunciation since 1600 have been great, violent, and important, especially in the vowel-sounds, as shewn by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet. In Ireland, the old sound of *ea* still lingers, as in *sea* (*sei*, for older *sae*). Practically, we retain a Tudor system of symbols with a Victorian pronunciation, for which the system is ill fitted.

(11) The net result is, that, in order to understand modern English spelling fully, every leading word must be examined separately, and its whole history traced. We must know all its changes, both in form and sound, before we can fully explain it. A common mistake is to suppose that Latin and Greek words were introduced into the language *directly*, in cases where history tells us that they really came to us through Anglo-French or Central French, and should be allowed, even upon 'etymological' grounds, to retain a French spelling. E. g. *crystal* is a pedantic respelling of the A. F. and M. E. *cristal*. By the same rule, *quinsy* should be spelt *quynsy*, but it is not; simply because its etymology is not very obvious.

(12) The shortest description of modern spelling is to say that, speaking generally, it represents a Victorian pronunciation of 'popular' words by means of symbols imperfectly adapted to an Elizabethan pronunciation. The symbols themselves are mainly due to the Anglo-French scribes of the Plantagenet period, whose system was meant to be phonetic. It also aims at suggesting to the eye the original forms of 'learned' words. It is thus governed by two conflicting principles, neither of which, even in its own domain, is consistently carried out.

CHAPTER IV.

WORDS OF NATIVE ORIGIN.

29. Development of Vowel-sounds in English. In § 25 above, the history of the A. S. *ā* has been traced in the typical word *stān*, now *stone*. In many words the A. S. *ā* has been similarly developed, though there are some exceptions. Thus A. S. *clāþ* (klaath) became M. E. *clooth*, *cloth* (klaoth), and *cloth* is still pronounced (klaoth) to this day. I have no space here to dwell upon exceptional cases, however important, but I proceed to give a set of typical words, illustrative of most of the vowel-changes, since A. S. times. Observe that the words printed in *italics* represent actual spellings, i. e. the *forms*, whilst the words in Roman letters, and between marks of parenthesis, represent the pronunciations according to the scheme in § 10, i. e. the *sounds*.

ANGLO-SAXON.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
<i>mann</i> (mann, man)	<i>man</i> (man)	<i>man</i> (mænn).
<i>sæt</i> (sæt)	<i>sat</i> (sat)	<i>sat</i> (sæt).
<i>heard</i> (heard)	<i>hard</i> (hard)	<i>hard</i> (haaəd, haad).
<i>nama</i> (nama)	<i>name</i> (naamə)	<i>name</i> (neim).
<i>ende</i> (ende)	<i>ende</i> (endə)	<i>end</i> (end).
<i>helpan</i> (helpan)	<i>helpen</i> (helpen)	<i>help</i> (help).
<i>seofon</i> (seovon)	<i>seven</i> (sevən)	<i>seven</i> (sevn).

	ANGLO-SAXON.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
	<i>mete</i> (mete)	<i>mete</i> (maetə)	<i>meat</i> (miit).
	<i>stelan</i> (stelan)	<i>stelen</i> (staelen)	<i>steal</i> (stiil).
10	<i>sā</i> (sae)	<i>see</i> (sae)	<i>sea</i> (sii).
	<i>drēam</i> (dreeam)	<i>dreem</i> (draem)	<i>dream</i> (driim).
	<i>grēne</i> (greene)	<i>grene</i> (greenə)	<i>green</i> (griin).
	<i>sēo</i> (seeo)	<i>see</i> (see)	<i>see</i> (sii).
	<i>witan</i> (witan)	<i>witen</i> (witen)	<i>wit</i> (wit).
15	<i>hyll</i> (hyll)	<i>hil</i> (hil)	<i>hill</i> (hil).
	<i>wīn</i> (wiin)	<i>wyn</i> (wiin)	<i>wine</i> (wain).
	<i>fȳr</i> (fyyr)	<i>fyr</i> (fir)	<i>fire</i> (faia).
	<i>oft</i> (oft)	<i>oft</i> (oft)	<i>oft</i> (aoft).
	<i>on</i> (on)	<i>on</i> (on)	<i>on</i> (on).
20	<i>hol</i> (hol)	<i>hool</i> (haol)	<i>hole</i> (houl).
	<i>tā</i> (taa)	<i>too, to</i> (tao)	<i>toe</i> (tou).
	<i>tō</i> (too)	<i>to</i> (too)	<i>too, to</i> (tuu).
	<i>sunu</i> (sunu)	<i>sone</i> (sunə)	<i>son</i> (sen).
	<i>hūs</i> (huus)	<i>hous</i> (huus)	<i>house</i> (haus).
25	<i>dæg</i> (dæg, dæi)	<i>day</i> (dai, dei)	<i>day</i> (dei).
	<i>sege</i> (sege, seye)	<i>sey</i> (sei)	<i>say</i> (sei).
	<i>lagu</i> (lagu)	<i>lawe</i> (lauə)	<i>law</i> (lao).

30. Explanations. I append some necessary notes upon some of the above forms and changes.

The A. S. vowel in *mann* (l. 1) is the same as in *nama* (l. 4); yet it is developed differently. The reason is as follows.

A vowel can be either *free* or *enclosed*. It is *free*, if it occurs at the end of a syllable, as in *na-ma*; but if it has a consonant following it in the same syllable, as in *mann*, it is said to be *enclosed*.

The enclosed vowel in *mann* was short, and short it still

remains. But in *na-ma*, the free vowel became (aa) in M. E. *na-me* ('naa-mə), and the M. E. (aa) regularly becomes (ei) in mod. E. This has nothing to do with the development of A. S. *ā* (aa) as mod. E. *ō* (ou), because, in the M. E. period, that sound had already become (ao), and was thus quite distinct from M. E. (aa).

In the word *mann*, the final *n* was often dwelt on, and is practically double or long. This is a marked peculiarity of modern E., which really has (mænn) rather than (mæn).

The *e* in *ende*, *helpan*, in ll. 5 and 6, was at first the same as in *mete*, *stelan*, in ll. 8 and 9. But in *me-te*, *stelan*, the vowel was free, and was, accordingly, lengthened from the short open *e* to the long one in M. E.

In l. 3, A. S. *heard* is not really the original of M. E. *hard*. The latter is due to the Mercian form *hard*. Mercian employs the simple vowels *a* and *e* where A. S. has the short 'broken' diphthongs *ea* and *eo*. So also, in l. 7, the original of M. E. *seven* is rather a Mercian form *sefen* than the A. S. *seofon*. The A. S. *f* between two vowels was pronounced as *v*.

Some sounds were confused, and then were necessarily developed in the same way. This was the case with the A. S. *ā* and *ea*, which both became (ae) in M. E. ; see ll. 10, 11. Also, with A. S. *ē* and *ēo*, both M. E. (ee) ; see ll. 12, 13. Also, with A. S. *i* and *y*, both M. E. (i) ; see ll. 14, 15. Also, with A. S. *ī* and *ȳ*, both M. E. (ii) ; see ll. 16, 17. In M. E., *ai* or *ay* was confused with *ei* or *ey* ; see ll. 25, 26.

In l. 20, the final *l* was so vocalic in its nature that it failed to 'close' the syllable ; hence the short *o* in *hol* was treated as if *free*, and lengthened accordingly in the M. E. period ; and long it still remains.

In ll. 25, 26, we may notice that the *g* of *dæg* and *sege* was only hard (*g*) in very early A. S. ; it soon became a sort of *y*, so that *æg* and *eg* became diphthongs in M. E. In *lagu*, it became *w*, and helped to form a diphthong in M. E.

In l. 26, *sege* is the imperative mood ; the infinitive *secgan* would have been developed, regularly, into M. E. *seggen* and mod. E. *sedge*. In M. E., we find both *seggen* and *seien* or *seyn* in the infinitive. The mod. E. form does not always follow the A. S. infinitive, though it usually does so ; in this case, it goes with the occasional A. S. 3. p. pres. indic. *segeð*, the imperative *sege*, and the pt. t. *sægde*, rather than with the forms written with *eg* ; the A. S. *eg* in *secgan* meant (*gy*) : *y* = *y* consonant.

31. Examples. I now give several examples of the above changes, mostly taken from Sweet's History of English Sounds.

Line 1 (§ 29). So also A. S. *scanca*, shank ; *hangian*, to hang ; *fann*, a fan ; *canne*, a can ; *panne*, a pan ; *hand*, hand ; *standan*, to stand ; *hamm*, a ham ; *ramm*, a ram.

But *an* not unfrequently became *on* ; hence we find A. S. *strang*, strong ; *sang*, a song ; *tange*, a pair of tongs. This is an example of the way in which certain consonants affect and modify the preceding vowel. *W* affects the following vowel ; hence *swan*, swan, is now pronounced (swon) ; and *wann*, wan, has become (won).

Line 2. So A. S. *æt*, at ; *tælg*, tallow ; *æsc*, ash ; *mæsse*, mass ; *hæfð* (hævdh), hath ; *hæfde* (hævde), had ; *æx*, ax ; *wæx*, wax. The M. E. *a* becomes mod. E. (aa) before *s* ; as in *mæst*, mast ; *fæst*, fast ; *hæspe*, hasp. And *w* turns *a* into (o), as in *wæsp*, wasp.

Line 3. So also A. S. *hearm* (Mercian *harm* ?), harm ; *stearc*, stark ; *spearca* (Mercian *spærca*), spark ; *mearc* (Merc.

merc), mark, i. e. boundary ; *eart* (*Merc. art*), art ; *sceard*, a shard ; *scearp*, sharp ; *hearpe*, harp. If a vowel follows *ear*, it becomes (æ) ; as in *nearu*, narrow (nærou) ; cf. *mearg*, marrow. A preceding *w* changes *a* (A. S. *ea*) to (o) ; as in *sweart*, swart (swort) ; *wearte*, wart ; *weard*, ward.

Line 4. So also *ha-ra*, hare ; *sta-rian*, to stare ; *fa-ran*, to fare ; *ta-lu*, a tale ; *ba-ðian*, to bathe ; *gra-sian*, to graze ; *sca-fan*, to shave ; *na-fu*, nave (of a wheel). So also with A. S. *æ* ; as in *hæ-sel*, hazel ; *bræ-sen*, brazen ; *blæ-se*, a torch, whence E. *blaze* ; *hræfen*, M. E. *ra-ven*, a raven.

Line 5. So A. S. *wrencan*, to wrench ; *cwencan*, to quench ; *fenn*, a fen ; *sendan*, to send ; *bendan*, to bend ; *hemm*, a hem, a border ; *pening*, *penig*, a penny. Sometimes *en* passes into *in* ; as in *streng*, string ; *sengan*, to singe ; *Englisc*, English (ingglisch).

Line 6. So A. S. *twelf*, twelve ; *elm*, elm ; *seldon*, seldom ; *hwelp*, whelp ; *elles*, else ; *tellan*, to tell ; &c.

Line 7. So A. S. *hefig*, heavy ; *heofon*, heaven ; *leþer*, leather ; *weþer*, a wether (i. e. a sheep) ; *weft*, weft.

Lines 8, 9. But the *e* in *me-te* was treated as belonging to an open syllable ; so also in *stelan*. Hence the *e* became M. E. (æ), E. (ii). So also *me-tan*, to mete, i. e. to measure ; *cne-dan*, to knead. Note, on the one hand, A. S. *me-du*, E. mead, and on the other, its dat. case *med-we*, whence E. meadow. Further, A. S. *we-la*, weal ; *we-fan*, to weave ; *we-nian*, to wean.

Line 10. So A. S. *fær*, fear ; *mæl*, meal, repast ; *hælan*, to heal ; *dæl*, deal. But the original pronunciation is sometimes nearly preserved before *r*, as in *ær*, ere ; *hær*, hair ; *þær*, there ; *wæron*, were. A remarkable shortening of the vowel occurs in some closed syllables ; as in A. S. *flæsc*, flesh ; *wræstan*, to wrest ; *æfre*, ever ; *ænig*, any

(eni); *clānsian*, to cleanse; *āmette*¹, an emmet; *āmettig*, empty; *brād*, thread; *brēþ*, breath; *wēt*, wet. We even find *swātan*, to sweat, where the short vowel is due to the past tense, viz. *swāt-te*, he sweat(ed); also *lātan*, to let (allow), confused with *lettan*, to let (hinder).

Line 11. So A. S. *ēast*, east; *berēafian*, to bereave; *lēaf*, leaf; *scēaf*, sheaf; *bēan*, bean; *sēam*, seam; *bēam*, beam; *lēac*, leek; *bēacen*, beacon; *hēap*, heap; *ēare*, ear; &c. Vowel-shortening appears in some syllables 'closed' by a dental; as in *brēatian*, to threaten; *rēad*, red; *lēad*, lead (the metal); *dēad*, dead; *brēad*, bread. So also *dēaf*, deaf.

Line 12. So *hē*, he; *mē*, me; *wē*, we; *gē*, ye; *hēla*, heel; *tēþ*, teeth; *gēs*, geese; *cēne*, keen; *cwēn*, queen; *sēcan*, to seek; *swēte*, sweet; *spēd*, speed; *wēpan*, to weep; &c.

Line 13. So *þrēo*, three; *frēo*, free; *bēo*, bee; *dēor*, deer; *bēor*, beer; *hwēol*, wheel; *frēosan*, to freeze; *þēof*, thief; *fēond*, fiend; *wēod*, a weed; *dēop*, deep. The vowel is shortened in *brēost*, breast; *frēond*, friend; *stēop-fæder*, step-father.

Line 14. So *smiþ*, smith; *piþa*, pith; *is*, is; *þis*, this; *fisc*, fish; &c. But the vowel was lengthened in M. E. before *ld*, *nd*, in several words, thus becoming M. E. (ii), whence mod. E. (ai). Exx. *milde*, mild (maild); *cild*, child; *rind*, rind; *findan*, to find; *windan*, to wind; *grindan*, to grind; *bindan*, to bind. *Wind*, sb., remains, usually, (wind), to distinguish it from the verb. The pronunciation (waind) is often regarded as archaic, and was in use in the 18th century. But the A. S. sound was (wind), as at present.

¹ Some people shortened it to *æm'tte*, which produced a form *amt*; and this, being hardly pronounceable, became *ant*.

Line 15. So *cylen*, kiln ; *fyllan*, to fill ; *gyldan*, to gild ; *bysig*, busy ; *cyning*, king ; *dyne*, din ; *cynn*, kin ; *brycg*, bridge ; *hrycg*, ridge ; *pyt*, pit ; *dyde*, he did ; *clyppan*, to clip ; &c.

Line 16. So *bī*, by ; *wīr*, wire ; *līþe*, lithe ; *īs*, ice ; *īfig*, ivy ; *līf*, life ; *wīf*, wife ; *fīf*, five ; *swīn*, swine ; *scīnan*, to shine ; &c. Shortened in *fīftig*, fifty ; *wīfmenn*, women ; *līnen*, linen ; *stīg-rāp*, stirrup.

Line 17. So *hwȳ*, why ; *mȳs*, mice ; *dȳfan*, to dive ; *drȳge*, dry ; *cȳta*, a kite (bird) ; *hȳd*, hide (skin) ; *hȳdan*, to hide ; *brȳd*, bride. Shortened in *fȳlþ*, filth ; *cȳþþe*, kith ; *wȳscan*, to wish ; *fȳst*, fist.

Lines 18, 19. So *norþ*, north ; *hors*, horse ; *þorn*, thorn ; *frost*, frost. Also *loc*, lock, sb. ; *socc*, sock ; *coccel*, cockle ; *fox*, fox ; *otor*, otter ; *cnotta*, knot ; *bodig*, body ; *hoppian*, to hop ; *top*, top.

Line 20. Here vowel-lengthening comes in, in open syllables, and before *l*. Exx. *fo-la*, foal ; *ho-se*, hose ; *no-su*, nose ; *co-fa*, cove ; *smo-cian*, to smoke ; *bro-cen*, broken ; *þro-te*, throat ; *bo-dian*, to bode ; *o-pen*, open ; *ho-pa*, hope ; and in *col*, coal ; *cnoll*, knoll ; *bolla*, bowl ; *colt*, colt ; *bolt*, bolt ; *molde*, mould ; *gold*, gold.

Line 21. So *rā*, roe ; *wā*, woe ; *fā*, foe ; *dā*, doe ; *hāl*, whole ; *hālig*, holy ; *pāl*, pole ; *þās*, those ; *gāst*, ghost ; *sāwan*, to sow ; *snāw*, snow ; *hlāf*, loaf ; *hān*, hone ; *drān*, drone ; *bān*, bone ; *hām*, home ; *fām*, foam ; *tācen*, token ; *dāg*, dough ; *gāt*, goat ; *rād*, road ; *lād*, load ; *gād*, goad ; *rāp*, rope ; *grāþian*, to grope. Shortened in *hāt*, M. E. hoot (haot), E. hot. The M. E. sound (ao) is kept in *brād*, broad ; *clāþ*, cloth ; *rārian*, to roar ; *lār*, lore ; *sār*, sore ; *ār*, oar ; *bār*, boar ; *māre*, more.

Line 22. So *scō*, shoe ; *dō*, I do ; *stōl*, stool ; *cōl*, cool ;

tōþ, tooth ; *gōs*, goose ; *hōf*, hoof ; *hrōf*, roof ; *sōna*, soon ; *spōn*, spoon ; *mōna*, moon ; *dōm*, doom ; *wōgian*, to woo ; *bōt*, boot (profit) ; *rōd*, rood ; *fōda*, food ; *mōd*, mood. *Oo* is shortened in *hōc*, hook ; *hrōc*, rook ; *scōc*, shook ; *cōc*, cook ; *bōc*, book ; *fōt*, foot ; *hōd*, hood ; *stōd*, stood ; *gōd*, good. The (u) has been entirely 'unrounded,' and is now pronounced without any drawing together of the lips, in *flōd*, flood ; *blōd*, blood ; *mōðor*, mother.

Line 23. So *þus*, thus ; *lufu*, love ; *hungor*, hunger ; *tunge*, tongue ; *hunig*, honey ; *scunian*, to shun ; *sunne*, sun ; *nunne*, nun ; *wundor*, wonder ; *cuman*, come ; *cruma*, crumb ; *dumb*, dumb ; *hnutu*, nut ; *rudig*, ruddy ; *cuppe*, cup. The original (u) is preserved in *full*, full ; *pullian*, to pull ; *bulluc*, bullock ; *wulf*, wolf ; *wulle*, wool ; *fullere*, a fuller. As in the case of *i*, *u* was lengthened to (uu), written *ou* in M. E., and now sounded as (au), before *nd* ; as in *bunden*, bound. Cf. l. 14 above.

Line 24. So *hū*, how ; *þū*, thou ; *nū*, now ; *cū*, cow ; *sūr*, sour ; *ūle*, owl ; *fūl*, foul ; *sūþ*, south ; *mūþ*, mouth ; *mūs*, mouse ; *tūn*, town ; *dūn*, down (a hill) ; *brūn*, brown ; *ūt*, out ; *clūt*, clout ; *hlūd*, loud ; *scrūd*, shroud. The *ū* (uu) was shortened to (u), and afterwards unrounded, in *ūs*, us ; *dūst*, dust ; *scūfan*, to shove ; *þūma*, thumb ; *plūme*, plum ; *sūcan*, to suck ; *sūpan*, to sup ; cf. *flood*, &c. above. Note that the A. S. *ū* was written *ou* in M. E., though the sound was the same.

Line 25. Here the *g* became vocalic, passing into *y*, *i* (i), and helping to form a diphthong. So *slægen*, slain ; *snægel*, snail ; *wægen*, wain ; *fægen*, fain ; *nægl*, nail ; *tægl*, tail ; *pægel*, pail ; *mæg*, may ; *mægen*, main, sb. ; *mægden*, maiden. Cf. also *fæger*, fair.

Line 26. The same took place here also ; as in *weg*,

way ; *plega*, sb., play ; *eglan*, to ail ; *segl*, a sail ; *regen*, rain ; *legen*, lain, pp. ; *þegen*, a thane ; *blegen*, a blain ; *bregdan*, to braid. Cf. *leger*, a lair.

Line 27. Here *g*, after *a*, becomes *w* (w, u). So *sage*, a saw, cutting implement, M. E. *sawe* (sauə), E. (sao) ; *scaga*, a shaw ; *maga*, the maw ; *dragan*, to draw ; *gnagan*, to gnaw ; *hagu-born*, hawthorn.

32. Gradual alterations. These examples will give a general idea of the great changes that have taken place in the sounds of the vowels since the time before the Conquest. It thus becomes clear that we must know the history of these sound-changes before we can understand the partial and inadequate changes which they have occasioned in our spelling. It is also absolutely necessary to know the A. S. forms of our 'native' words before we can compare them with cognate forms in other languages. An easy case occurs in the word *house*, A. S. *hūs*. The A. S. form is at once seen to be identical with the Icel. *hūs*, Swed. *hus*, Dan. *huus*, Goth. *hus*, and the Old High German *hūs* ; and it is interesting to note that the O.H.G. form has been developed into the mod. G. *Haus*, precisely as in English ; for the G. spelling with *au* is the phonetic way of indicating the very same sound as that which we indicate by *ou* (or *ow*).

All the changes of sound noted above came about gradually, and without any sudden alteration. Thus the A. S. *ī*, M. E. *ī* (ii), passed through many intermediate stages before it became the mod. E. diphthongal (ai). One of these intermediate stages was (ei), the sound of *ei* in *vein* ; and it is worth noting that such was the pronunciation in the time of Shakespeare. The same happened in Germany. The Old High German *ī* (ii) also

passed through many stages, one of which was *(ei)*, before arriving at its modern sound, which is the same as in English; and, strangely enough, the symbol *ei*, which corresponds to the pronunciation *(ei)*, is still retained in German, though the modern sound has really advanced to *(ai)*, thus making the symbol *ei* conventional and delusive.

33. The Vowel-Scale. The gradual changes in vowel-sounds are more easily understood if they are properly arranged in the vocal scale. The right arrangement is as follows:

u o (ó) ɔ (ò) a æ e i.

Here *u* is the lowest in tone or pitch; and the pitch gradually rises till we arrive at *i*, which is the highest. Of these, the first three are 'rounded' or 'labialized' vowels, i. e. vowels modified by various positions of the lips, and are formed at the back of the tongue, which is gradually lowered. The technical names for them are, respectively, (*u*) *high-back-narrow-round*; (*o*) *mid-back-narrow-round*; and (*ɔ*) *low-back-narrow-round*. The last three are all 'front' vowels, or formed by the front part of the tongue, which is gradually raised.

Now when we compare the A. S. long vowel-sounds with those used in M. E., we find but little change; *ū* was written *ou*, but without change of sound; *ō* was unchanged, but was also written *oo*. At the other end of the scale, *ē* remained, but was also written *ee*; and *ī* remained, but was also written *y*. The only change was in the middle. Here *ā* passed into the sound of (*ao*); but at the same time a new *ā* was introduced, by the lengthening of the short *a* in an open syllable, as ex-

plained in § 30. We may tabulate the result (in 1300–1400) as follows :—

Anglo-Saxon	<i>ū</i>	<i>ō</i>	..	<i>ā</i>	<i>ǣ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ī</i> .
Mid-English	<i>ou</i>	<i>oo</i>	(ao)	..	<i>ā</i>	<i>ee</i> (ae)	<i>ee</i> <i>i</i> , or <i>y</i> .

The more violent alterations in the sounds of the long vowels are of later date ; and the direction of change is easily perceived. The low vowels all became lower, and the high vowels higher, causing a complete displacement throughout both sets. Thus the M. E. (ao) became (oo), now (ou), and the M. E. (oo) has become (uu) ; whilst, at the other end, the M. E. (ee) and even (ae) have become (ii). Examples : A. S. *stān*, M. E. *stoon* (staon), E. *stone* (stoun). A. S. *gōs*, M. E. *goos* (goos), E. *goose* (guus). A. S. *sā*, M. E. *see* (sae), Tudor E. *sea* (sae), later (sei), E. *sea* (sii). A. S. *hē*, M. E. *he* (hee), E. *he* (hii).

By these changes, the A. S. sounds of *ū* and *ī*, both at the extremes of the scale, were pushed out of it altogether ; the result was, that their places were supplied by diphthongs, made by prefixing (a). In this way, A. S. *ū* has become (au) ; and A. S. *ī* has become (ai). Thus A. S. *hūs* is E. *house* (haus) ; and A. S. *wīn* is E. *wine* (wain). Both these changes took place, independently, in German also. In each case, the change (as Ellis says) simply consists in pronouncing the vowel with a sound which is too open (i. e. with the tongue not sufficiently raised), and, as it were, correcting that error in the course of utterance.

By such considerations, some of the more important principles in English sound-changes can easily be understood.

CHAPTER V.

VOWEL-MUTATION.

34. Definition of Mutation. Mutation (called in German *Umlaut*) denotes a change in a stressed vowel caused by the anticipatory influence of a vowel in the following syllable of the same word. In this way, the original vowels in Germanic word-forms were often slightly varied or 'modified,' and occasioned 'mutated' forms in the Oldest English.

If we were to enquire thoroughly into all the cases in which such mutation occurs, we should find that, in nearly all of them, the primary vowel has been affected by the occurrence of an *i* or a *u* in the next syllable. This remark applies only to the primary or oldest form of the word, and the mutating vowel cannot always be detected in the known (historical) forms of Anglo-Saxon; for we find that, after the *i* or *u* had produced this effect, it frequently fell out of the word and was lost. This is called 'concealed mutation,' and examples of it are very common. A good instance is the word *French*, short for A. S. *Frencisc*, from an older form **Francisc*, i. e. Frankish; here, after the *i* has modified the *a* to *e*, it has disappeared. (Note that *e* is nearer to *i* than *a* is, in the vowel-scale *u, o, a, e, i*.)

35. Cases of *u*-mutation (mutation caused by *u*) are comparatively rare; I shall therefore restrict myself to considering cases of *i*-mutation only.

I-mutation. The chief results are shewn in the following table, where vowels in the row (A) are primary, and those in the row (B) are derived, viz. by *i*-mutation.

(A)	a	u	(o)		ā	ō	ū		ea,	eo		ēa,	ēo
(B)	e	y			æ	ē	ȳ		ie, or y			īe, or ȳ.	

I proceed to explain and exemplify this table, remarking that examples of mutation are common enough in modern English, though modern English grammars usually ignore it. Note also, that the object of understanding it is to prevent ignorant blunders, such as, e. g., the derivation of the substantive *doom* from the verb to *deem*, which is a very clear case of 'putting the cart before the horse.'

36. A > E; that is, A became E¹. I here use the symbol > to denote that A is the primary vowel, the opening of the angle being turned towards the older form.

The original Teutonic suffix for forming the comparative of an adjective was *-iza*, later *-ira*. Thus the A. S. *lang*, long, had the comparative **langiza*, **langira*, whence, by *i*-mutation and subsequent loss of *i*, the usual A. S. *lengra*, longer. In many cases, the original forms can only be inferred by comparison with old forms in other languages, and the explanations are sometimes difficult. I here give only some results; in many cases, however, the etymological connection of the words is sufficiently obvious, and I append some hints. Theoretical A. S. forms, such as **langiza*, are distinguished by an asterisk preceding them. Many such forms actually occur in Gothic.

¹ Strictly, *a* first became *æ*, and later *e*.

In the following cases, Gothic has preserved an older form, explaining the vowel *e* in English.

Goth. *agljan*, to afflict, where *j* (*y*) is the semi-vowel corresponding to *i*, and producing the same effect; A. S. *eglan*, E. *ail*, verb. [N.B. (*y*) = G. *ü*; but (*y*) = E. *y* in *yes*.]

Goth. *baris*, A. S. *bere*, barley, E. *bar-le-y*. (Modern E. puts *ar* for *er*.)

Goth. *badi*, A. S. *bedd*, also written *bed*, a bed.

Goth. *balgs* (stem *balgi-*), a wine-skin; A. S. *belg*, a bag; M. E. *below*, *belu*, *beli*; E. *bellow-s*, *belly*.

Goth. *bandi*, a band; A. S. *bendan* (< **bandian*), to put a band on a bow, to bend it; E. *bend*.

Goth. *basi*, a berry; A. S. *beri-ge* (for **bazige*), E. *berry*. (A. S. *r* < *z* is not uncommon.)

Goth. *batiza*, A. S. *betra* (for **batira*), E. *better*.

Goth. *batists*, A. S. *betst*, E. *best*.

Goth. *draggkjan* (a way of writing *drangkian*), A. S. *drencan* (for **drancian*), to make to drink; E. *drench*.

Goth. *aleina* (= *alīna*), a cubit; A. S. *eln* (for **alin*); E. *ell*.

With Goth. *alja*, except, Lat. *alias*, otherwise, compare A. S. *elles*, E. *else*.

Goth. *andi*, end; A. S. *ende*, E. *end*.

Goth. *fani*, mud; A. S. *fenn*, also *fen*, E. *fen*.

Goth. *gasts* (stem *gasti-*), a guest (cf. Lat. *hosti-s*, p. 79); A. S. *gæst*, *gest*, E. *guest*.

Goth. *halja*, A. S. *helle*, E. *hell*.

Goth. *hana*, a cock; hence A. S. fem. *henn* (for **han-jā*, with fem. suffix *-jā* = *-iā*), E. *hen*.

Goth. *kannjan*, to make known, Icel. *kenna*, E. *ken*.

Lat. *catillus*, dimin. of *catinus*, a bowl; borrowed by Gothic in the form *katils*; A. S. *cetel*, E. *kettle*.

Goth. *lagjan*, A. S. *lecgan* (written for **legjan*), to lay ; A. S. *lege*, lay thou ; M. E. *leyen*, E. *lay* (for *ley*).

Goth. *lats*, late, slow ; *latjan*, to tarry ; A. S. *lettan* (for **latjan*, the loss of *j* being often accompanied by a doubling of the preceding consonant), to hinder, E. *let* (hinder).

Goth. *mati*-, meat ; A. S. *mete*, E. *meat*.

Goth. *marei* (written for *marī*), A. S. *mere*, E. *mere*, a sea, lake.

Goth. *nati*, A. S. *nett*, also *net*, E. *net*.

Goth. *sandjan*, A. S. *sendan*, E. *send*.

Goth. *satjan*, A. S. *settan*, E. *set*.

Goth. *skalja*, a tile ; A. S. *scell*, E. *shell*.

Goth. *staths* (stem *stadi*-), pl. *stadeis* (= *stadīs*), a place ; A. S. *stede*, E. *stead*.

Goth. *swaran*, to swear ; A. S. *swerian* (for **swarian*, a weak infinitive) ; E. *swear*.

Goth. *twalif*, A. S. *twelf*, E. *twelve*.

Goth. *wasjan*, to clothe ; A. S. *werian* (for **wazian*), to wear clothes, E. *wear*.

Goth. *wadi*, a pledge ; E. *wed*, sb., and the verb to *wed*.

Goth. *wandjan*, to turn ; A. S. *wendan*, E. *wend*.

The following results can be proved.

Bank is the origin of *bench* ; *saw* (A. S. *sage*), a cutting instrument, is allied to *sedge*. *Long*, adj. (A. S. *lang*), has given *length* ; and *strong* (A. S. *strang*) has given *strength*. The sbs. *band*, *sale*, *tale*, are the sources of the verbs *bend*, *sell*, *tell*. (Note the ignorance shewn in deriving *tale* from *tell*.) The weak verbs *ken*, *fell*, *drench*, *set*, are derived from the stems seen in the verbs *can*, *fall*, and in the past tenses *drank* and *sat*. The sb. *stench* is due to the stem seen in the pt. t. *stank*. For the derivation of words from past-tense-stems, see the chapter on Gradation.

37. U > Y ; also U (A. S. *o*) > Y. The A. S. *y* is the same as the G. *ü*, i. e. a modified *u*. The A. S. *y* also arises, *apparently*, from A. S. *o*, but mostly in cases where *o* really represents an older *u* ; thus, where Gothic has *gulth*, gold, A. S. has *gold*. Hence these two mutations are, theoretically, only *one*. But we may separate them, by the A. S. spelling, for practical convenience.

U > Y. Goth. *kuni*, A. S. *cyn*, E. *kin*.

Goth. *fulljan*, to fill ; A. S. *fyllan*, E. *fill*.

A. S. *lust*, pleasure ; *lystan*, to desire ; E. *list*, vb.

A. S. *pund*, a pound, enclosure ; *pyndan*, for **pundian*, to impound ; hence E. *pindar*, *pinner*.

A. S. *þurh*, through, prep. ; A. S. *þyrel* (for **þyrh-el*, **þyrh-il*), a hole ; hence A. S. *þyrlian*, to pierce, E. *thrill*.

A. S. *wynn*, joy (for Teutonic **wunni*) ; hence A. S. *wynsum*, pleasant, E. *winsome*.

Lat. *uncia*, borrowed as A. S. *ynce*, E. *inch*.

Lat. *puteus* (**putius*), borrowed as A. S. *pyt*, E. *pit*.

A. S. *būgan*, to bow, bend, pt. t. pl. *bug-on* ; hence A. S. *byht* (for **bugti*), a bay, a bend ; E. *bight*.

A. S. *beorgan*, to hide, pt. t. pl. *burg-on* ; hence A. S. *byrgan*, E. *bury*.

U (A. S. *o*) > Y. Goth. *gulth*, A. S. *gold* ; A. S. *gyldan* (for **guld-ian*), to gild ; E. *gild*.

A. S. *beran*, to bear, pp. *bor-en*, born ; cf. A. S. *ge-byr-d*, Icel. *burðr*, E. *birth* ; A. S. *byr-ðen*, E. *burden*.

A. S. *bold*, a dwelling ; *byld-an*, for **boldian*, to make a dwelling-place, E. *build*.

Compare also : *drop*, *drip* ; *dross*, *drizzle* ; *foal* (A. S. *folā*), *filly* ; *fore*, *first* ; *corn*, a grain, A. S. *cyrnel* (< **cyrnil*), *kernel* ; *knot*, *knit* ; *loft*, *lift* ; *fox*, *vixen*. Also Lat. *coquina*, A. S. *cycen*, E. *kitchen* ; Lat. *molina*, A. S.

mylen, M. E. *miln*, E. *mill*; Lat. *moneta* (regarded as **monita*), A. S. *mynet*, E. *mint*; Lat. *monasterium* (regarded as **monister*), A. S. *mynster*, E. *minster*.

38. $\hat{A} > \hat{Æ}$. The Germanic *ai*, represented by Goth. *ai*, corresponds to A. S. *ā* when primary, and to A. S. *æ* when mutated. Thus the Goth. adj. *hails*, A. S. *hāl*, E. *whole*, is the origin of Goth. *hailjan*, A. S. *hēlan*, E. *heal*. The A. S. *rās*, *rose*, is the past tense of *rīsan*, to rise; from this stem (Goth. *rais*) was formed the causal verb which appears in Gothic as *raisjan*, in Icelandic as *reisa*, and in A. S. as *rēran* (for **rās-ian* > **rāz-ian*). From the Icel. *reisa* we have borrowed our verb to *raise*, whilst *rēran* still exists in the form to *rear*; thus *raise* and *rear* are 'doublets,' i. e. varying forms of the same word.

Other examples appear in E. *broad*, *bread-th*; *hot*, *heat*; *load*, *lead*, vb.; *loan*, *len-d*; *one*, *an-y*; *throw*, *thread*. All these can be similarly explained.

39. $\hat{O} > \hat{Ê}$. We notice this mutation in some plurals; as in A. S. *fōt*, pl. *fēt*, E. *foot*, pl. *feet*; so also *tooth*, pl. *teeth*; *goose*, pl. *geese*; and even in *brother*, pl. *brethren*, where the *o* and *e* have been shortened.

The Gothic forms help to explain the following. A. S. *dōm*, Goth. *dōm-s*, *doom*; hence Goth. *dōmjan*, A. S. *dēman*, E. to *deem*. A. S. *fōd-a*, *food*; Goth. *fōdjan*, A. S. *fēdan*, E. to *feed*. A. S. *mōt*, a meeting, as in *Witena-gemōt*, meeting of wits or wise men; Goth. *mōtjan*, A. S. *mētan*, to *meet*. A. S. *wōp*, a clamour, outcry; Goth. *wōpjan*, A. S. *wēpan*, to *weep*. Goth. *sōkjan*, A. S. *sēcan*, to *seek*, from a base *sōk*. This base remains unchanged in the past tense, which appears as Goth. *sōk-i-da*, but in A. S. as *sōh-te*, M. E. *soghte*, E. *sought*. The A. S. *sōh-te* is to be explained by observing that *ct* always becomes *ht* in Germanic,

and further, that in the past tense the suffix *-da* was originally added directly to the stem, the Goth. *sok(i)da* being exceptional. Thus **sōc-da* > *sōc-te* > *sōhte*.

Further examples appear in *book*, *beech* (so that the A. S. *bōc* must have meant 'beech' at first, the form *bēce* being secondary); *blood*, *bleed*; *brood*, *breed*; *glow*, *gleed* or *glede*, a glowing coal; *grow*, *green*, the colour of growing plants; *stud* (formerly *stood*), *steed*, a stud-horse; *cool*, *keel*, to cool, as used in Shakespeare (*L. L. L.* v. 2. 930).

40. $\hat{U} > \hat{Y}$. This appears in the plural of some sbs., as in A. S. *mūs*, pl. *mȳs*, E. *mouse*, *mice*; so also *louse*, pl. *lice*; *cow*, pl. *ki-ne*, with added *-ne*, forming a double plural.

So also A. S. *fūl*, E. *foul*; whence the verb *fȳl-an*, to *de-file* (formerly used without the French prefix *de-*), and the sb. *fȳl-ð*, E. *fil-th*, with the *i* shortened before *-lth*. A. S. *cūð*, well known, still preserved in E. *un-couth*; whence A. S. *cȳð-an*, M. E. *kithe*, to make known. Add to these *proud*, *pride*. The form *wish* is properly only a verb, A. S. *wȳscan*; the sb. has not been preserved, or it would have become *wush*, the A. S. form being *wūsc*.

41. EA > IE (*y*); EO > IE (*y*). In early MSS., *ea* and *eo* are mutated to *ie*; in later MSS., *ie* becomes *y*. In exactly the same way, the long diphthongs *ēa* and *ēo* were mutated to *īe*, later *ȳ*. Examples in modern English are rare.

E. *old* corresponds to O. Mercian *āld*, formerly *ald*, A. S. *cald*. Hence arose the A. S. comparative *ieldra*, *yldra* (**cald-i-ra*), and the superlative *ieldest*, *yldest*; mod. E. *eld-er*, *eld-est*.

A. S. *weorc*, work, produced the verb *wiercan*, *wyrcan*, to work. In mod. E., the same form serves for verb and sb.

A. S. *stēap*, E. *steep*, i. e. high, gives a derivative *stȳp-el*, now *steep-le*. Here, again, mod. E. confuses the forms.

A. S. *þēof*, a thief, gives a derivative *þief-ðe*, now *theft* (for **thef-th*). A. S. *stēor*, a steer, bullock, gives a derivative *stȳr-ic*, E. *stirk*.

42. Use of the laws of mutation. A knowledge of the laws of mutation is useful in many ways; especially in enabling us to trace a form containing a derived or secondary vowel back to an older form containing a primary one. We are also thus enabled to trace connections in allied languages much more clearly.

Take, for example, the problem, What is the relationship of E. *wish* to the German *wünschen*, with the same sense?

Answer: E. *wish* is from A. S. *wȳscan*, formed by mutation from the A. S. sb. *wūsc*, a wish, corresponding to an older form **wunsc*; for A. S. *un* regularly becomes *ū* when an *s* follows. The G. vb. *wünschen* is formed by mutation from the sb. *Wunsch*, from O. H. G. *wunsc*, or *wunsk*. Hence E. *wish* and G. *wünschen* are from the same Germanic type, viz. the masc. sb. *WUNSKO*.

There are countless instances of a similar kind, in which we should otherwise be quite at a loss to explain the true relationships of cognate words.

CHAPTER VI.

VOWEL-GRADATION.

43. Vowel-gradation. Vowel-gradation is called in German *Ablaut*. The effects of it are most clearly seen in the 'parts' of strong verbs. Thus the E. verb *to sing* makes the pt. t. *I sang* and the pp. *sung*, where the sole difference in the sounds of the words is made by altering the vowel. We might call this a gradation of *i* to *a*, and of *i* to *u*; and we might say that *sing* shews an *i*-grade, *sang* an *a*-grade, and *sung* a *u*-grade. But owing to the very partial manner in which the original gradation has been preserved in modern English, it is necessary to study the relations of the vowels in the usual A. S. forms; and, as even these are not always original, it is often further necessary to consider the nature of similar gradations in the original Germanic forms, for which purpose it is commonly necessary to compare the A. S. forms with those found in Icelandic, Gothic, and Old High German. To simplify the matter, I shall usually omit the High German forms in the following sections. It is convenient to print the original Germanic forms in small capitals; and I may remark that they are merely *inferred* from the later forms, though, at the same time, there is no doubt at all about any of them.

44. Strong Verbs. All verbs which formed their past tenses with vowel-change, and at the same time took the A. S. suffix *-en* (not *-od*, *-ed*, *-d*, or *-t*) in the past participle, are called strong verbs. It is also a common custom to call them 'irregular,' which is merely a confession of ignorance; their gradation is regulated by strict laws, and they become perfectly 'regular' when understood.

The Seven Conjugations. The Strong Verbs fall into seven classes or conjugations, of which we may take as types the following mod. E. verbs, viz. 1. *drive*; 2. *choose*; 3. *drink*; 4. *bear*; 5. *mete*, i. e. measure; 6. *shake*; 7. *fall*. The order may be remembered by the following doggerel lines:—

Drive slowly; wisely *choose*; from *drink* for-bear;

Mete justly; *shake* the tree, down *falls* the pear.

Most of these conjugations exhibit sub-divisions, in which the true 'grade'-vowels are sometimes somewhat altered; but such alterations are usually due to the action upon the vowels of a succeeding or preceding consonant, and I shall not give all the varieties. I select a few of the most striking examples, that we may thus arrive at the principles.

The verb *to fall* belongs to the class of 'reduplicating' verbs, as will appear.

Of the rest, the verb *to shake* belongs to what may be called the *a*-series, the radical vowel being *a*; and the remaining five are only varieties of what may be called the *e*-series, the radical vowel being *e*, with or without some further modification. All this will appear hereafter.

The Four Stems. I now give a list of the 'principal parts' of the seven conjugations. The 'principal parts' of

a verb are: 1. the infinitive mood; 2. the past tense, first person singular; 3. the past tense, first person plural; and 4. the past participle. These four parts exhibit all the varieties of 'grade,' and furnish a sufficient clue to the mode of conjugation of the whole verb. In the verb *to drive*, A. S. *drīfan*, the principal parts are: 1. *drīfan*, infinitive; 2. *drāf*, pt. t., 1 p. sing.; 3. *drif-on*, pt. t., 1 p. pl.; and 4. *drif-en*, pp. If we cut off the suffixes *-an*, *-on*, *-en*, the resulting forms are called 'stems.' Hence the verb *to drive* has four primary stems, the first stem being *drīf*, the second *drāf*, the third *drif*, and the fourth *drif*. In this case, the third and fourth stems are alike, but they often differ in other conjugations. We can tell all about a 'strong verb' when once we know its FOUR STEMS.

45. THE SEVEN CONJUGATIONS.

	Infinitive.	Past sing.	Past plu.	Past part.
1. GERMANIC	DRĪB-AN	DRAIB	DRIB-UM	DRIB-ANO.
Gothic	<i>dreib-an</i>	<i>draib</i>	<i>drīb-um</i>	<i>drīb-ans.</i>
Icelandic	<i>drīf-a</i>	<i>dreif</i>	<i>drif-um</i>	<i>drif-inn.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>drīf-an</i>	<i>drāf</i>	<i>drif-on</i>	<i>drif-en.</i>
English	<i>drive</i>	<i>drove</i>	<i>drove</i>	<i>driv-en.</i>
2. GERMANIC	KEUS-AN	KAUS	KUS-UM	KUS-ANO.
Gothic	<i>kīus-an</i>	<i>kauš</i>	<i>kus-um</i>	<i>kus-ans.</i>
Icelandic	<i>kjös-a</i>	<i>kauš</i>	<i>kus-um</i>	<i>kus-inn.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>cēos-an</i>	<i>cēas</i>	<i>cur-on</i>	<i>cor-en.</i>
English	<i>choose</i>	<i>chose</i>	<i>chose</i>	<i>chos-en.</i>
3. GERMANIC	DRENK-AN	DRANK	DRUNK-UM	DRUNK-ANO.
Gothic	<i>driggk-an</i> ¹	<i>draggk</i>	<i>druggk-um</i>	<i>druggk-ans.</i>
Icelandic	<i>drekk-a</i>	<i>drakk</i>	<i>drukk-um</i>	<i>drukk-inn.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>drinc-an</i>	<i>dranc</i>	<i>drunc-on</i>	<i>drunc-en.</i>
English	<i>drink</i>	<i>drank</i>	<i>drank</i>	<i>drunk.</i>

¹ Here *gg* is a way of writing *ng* (ng), in imitation of Greek spelling. In Icelandic, *nk* (ngk) became *kk* by assimilation.

	Infinitive.	Past sing.	Past plu.	Past part.
4. GERMANIC	BER-AN	BAR	BÊR-UM	BOR-ANO.
Gothic	<i>bair-an</i> ¹	<i>bar</i>	<i>ber-um</i>	<i>baur-ans.</i>
Icelandic	<i>ber-a</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>bär-um</i>	<i>bor-inn.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>ber-an</i>	<i>bær</i>	<i>bœr-on</i>	<i>bor-en.</i>
English	<i>bear</i>	<i>bare, bore</i>	<i>bare, bore</i>	<i>born, borne.</i>
5. GERMANIC	MET-AN	MAT	MÊT-UM	MET-ANO.
Gothic	<i>mit-an</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>met-um</i>	<i>mit-ans</i>
Icelandic	<i>met-a</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>mät-um</i>	<i>met-inn.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>met-an</i>	<i>mæt</i>	<i>mæt-on</i>	<i>met-en.</i>
English	<i>mete</i> ²	<i>(meted)</i>	<i>(meted)</i>	<i>(meted).</i>
6. GERMANIC	SKAKAN	SKÔK	SKÔK-UM	SKAK-ANO.
Gothic ³	<i>far-an</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>for-um</i>	<i>far-ans.</i>
Icelandic	<i>skak-a</i>	<i>skök</i>	<i>skök-um</i>	<i>stek-inn.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>scac-an</i>	<i>scôc</i>	<i>scôc-on</i>	<i>scac-en.</i>
English	<i>shake</i>	<i>shook</i>	<i>shook</i>	<i>shak-en.</i>
7. GERMANIC	FALL-AN	FE-FALL	FE-FALL-UM	FALL-ANO.
Gothic ⁴	<i>hald-an</i>	<i>hai-hald</i>	<i>hai-hald-um</i>	<i>hald-ans.</i>
Icelandic	<i>fall-a</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>fell-um</i>	<i>fall-inn.</i>
Anglo-Saxon	<i>feall-an</i>	<i>fēoll</i>	<i>fēoll-on</i>	<i>feall-en.</i>
English	<i>fall</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>fall-en.</i>

46. In these seven conjugations we have the key to the whole system of gradation, and to the equivalence of different vowels in different Germanic languages. Thus, stem 2 of conj. 1 shews that the Germanic *ai* becomes *ei* in Icelandic, *ā* in Anglo-Saxon, and long *o* in E., whilst remaining as *ai* in Gothic; and this is true, not only for verbs, but for substantives. Thus E. *stone* is A. S. *stān*, Icel. *steinn*, Goth. *stains*; all from the Germanic base *STAIN-O*. And so in other stems.

¹ In Gothic, the diphthongs *ai* and *au* are written instead of the vowels *ē* and *ō* (both short); when *e* and *o* are written, they always mean *ē* and *ō* (both long). The true long diphthongs *ai*, *au* are also written *ai*, *au*; but we can usually tell what is meant.

² The E. *mete* is now a weak verb; cf. E. *give, gave, gave, given*.

³ Gothic has not the verb *shake*; *far-an*, to fare, is given instead.

⁴ Gothic has not the verb *fall*; so *haldan*, to hold, is given instead.

Again, *every one* of the four stems appears in various derivatives from strong verbs ; in other words, the original Germanic form of a sb. frequently presents a vowel or consonant which may coincide with that of any one of the four stems ; we are by no means restricted to the infinitive mood, as we might perhaps suppose would be the case. Thus, the common E. *bund-le* agrees with the fourth stem (*bund-*) of the verb *bind-an*, to bind, of which the pp. is *ge-bund-en*. This clears up the connection of *bund-le* with *bind*, a connection which the sense at once suggests, though the form has to be accounted for by the above consideration.

In many cases, the derivation of a sb. involves mutation as well as gradation. Thus the verb *to set*, A. S. *settan* (= **sat-ian*, cf. Goth. *satjan*) is derived by mutation from *sat* ; and *sat* (Goth. *sat*, A. S. *sæt*) agrees with the second stem of the verb *to sit*. The sb. *settle*, a seat, must be similarly explained.

47. Examples of derivatives from stems. I use the symbol || to express 'a base with the same gradation as the following stem.' We may write 'E. *set*, A. S. *settan* < || *sæt*, pt. t. s. of *sittan*' as a short way of expressing that the A. S. *settan* is 'derived from a base exhibiting the same gradation as the A. S. *sæt*, put for an older **sat*, which is the stem seen in the past tense singular of *sittan*.' Thus the symbol || expresses 'parallelism of form.'

I give some *selected* examples of stem-derivatives. **Conjugation 1.** From the second stem : *abode*, sb., < || A. S. *ābād*, pt. t. of *ābīdan*, to abide. *Drove*, sb., < || *drove*, pt. t. *Grope* < || A. S. *grāp*, pt. t. s. of *grīpan*, to gripe. *Road* < || *rode*, pt. t. *Shrove* (as in *Shrove-Tuesday*) < || *shrove*, pt. t. of *shrive*. *Stroke* < || A. S. *strāc*, pt. t. s. of *strīcan*, to strike. E.

wroth < || A. S. *wrāþ*, pt. t. s. of *wriðan*, to writhe, turn about ; hence *wroth* is 'perverse.'

From the fourth stem : E. *bit*, sb. ; *drift*, sb. ; *slit* < || A. S. *slit-en*, pt. t. s. of *slit-an*, to slit ; *writ*, sb. ; *shrift*, sb. ; *thrift*, sb., of Norse origin.

Conjugation 2. From stem 2 : E. *neat*, i. e. cattle, A. S. *nēat* < || *nēat*, pt. t. s. of *nēotan*, to use ; hence the sense was 'useful,' i. e. 'domesticated.' E. *be-reave*, from A. S. *rēafian*, to strip off clothes ; from *rēaf*, clothing, spoil < || *rēaf*, pt. t. s. of *rēofan*, to deprive. E. *red*, adj., A. S. *rēad* < || *rēad*, pt. t. s. of *rēodan*, to redden. E. *reek*, smoke, A. S. *rēc*, *rēac* < || *rēac*, pt. t. s. of *rēocan*, to exhale. E. *sheaf*, A. S. *scēaf* < || *scēaf*, pt. t. s. of *scūfan*¹, to shove, push together.

From stem 3 : E. *suds*, pl. < || A. S. *sud-on*, pt. t. pl. of *sēoðan*, to seethe, boil. E. *tug* < || A. S. *tug-on*, pt. t. pl. of *teōn* (contracted verb), to pull.

From stem 4 : *bode*, vb., A. S. *bod-ian* < || *bod-en*, pp. of *bēoðan*, to command. E. *bow*, a weapon, A. S. *boga* < || *bogen*, pp. of *būgan*¹, to bow, bend. E. *drop* < || A. S. *dropen*, pp. of *drēopan*, to drop, drip. E. *dross*, A. S. *dros* < || *drosen*, pp. of *drēosan*, to fall (as sediment). E. *frost* < || **fros-en*, orig. form of A. S. *froren*, pp. of *frēosan*, to freeze. E. *lock*, A. S. *loca*, a lock < || *locen*, pp. of *lūcan*, to lock. So also *lot*, *shot*, *shove*, *slop*, *smoke*, *sod*.

Conjugation 3. From stem 2, without mutation : *cram*, *malt*, *song*, *throng*, *wander*, *warp*, *wrangle*. With mutation of *a* to *e* : *bend*, *drench*, *quench*, *stench*.

From stem 4 : *bundle*, *crumb*, *drunkard*. With mutation : *bury*.

¹ Some verbs of this conjugation have *ū* instead of *ēo* in the infinitive mood.

Conjugation 4. From stem 2 : E. *bairn*, A. S. *bearn* = **bar-n*, a child < || *bær*, pt. t. s. of *beran* ; so also *bar-m*, the lap. We may add E. *share*, *qual-m*.

From stem 3 : E. *bier*, A. S. *bār* < || *bāron*, pt. t. pl. of *beran*, to bear.

From stem 4 : *burden*, *birth* ; *hole* ; *score* ; *numb*.

Conjugation 5. From stem 2 : *lay*, vb. ; *set*, vb. (p. 65) ; *trade* < || A. S. *træd*, pt. t. s. of *tredan*, to tread ; *wain*, A. S. *wæg-n* < || *wæg*, pt. t. s. of *wegan*, to carry ; *wretch*.

From stem 3 : *speech*, A. S. *spāce*, *sprāc-e* < || *sprācon*, pt. t. pl. of *sprecan*, to speak.

From stem 4 : *lair*, A. S. *leg-er* < || *legen*, pp. of *licgan*, to lie ; *bead*, A. S. *bed*, a prayer < || *bed-en*, pp. of *biddan*, to pray.

Conjugation 6. From stem 2 : *soke*, *soken*, A. S. *sōc*, *sōcn* < || *sōc*, pt. t. of *sacan*, to contend.

48. Original stem-vowels. It is found that, in conj. 3, the vowel-sounds are affected by the *n* (or *m*) following them ; and that, in conj. 4, they are affected by the *r* (or *l*) following them. Taking this into account, and looking to the vowel-sounds only, we may express the stem-vowels of the first six conjugations as follows, taking the original Germanic forms as our guide.

1. *ī*, *ai*, *i*, *i*. 2. *eu*, *au*, *u*, *u*. 3. *en*, *an*, *un*, *un*. 4. *er*, *ar*, *ēr*, *or*. 5. *e*, *a*, *ē*, *e*. 6. *a*, *ō*, *ō*, *a*.

A comparison of the Germanic languages with other related languages, such as Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, shows that 'gradation' is by no means confined to Germanic. Greek, in particular, throws much light on this subject ; and the following facts have been proved.

(a) The Germ. *ī* answers to Gk. *ει*, and was originally *ei*

(b) The original Indo-Germanic speech, of which Greek,

Latin, &c., are, after all, mere varieties, employed the letters *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* as vowels as well as consonants ; compare the E. pronunciation of *bottle* (bot'l), *fathom* (fædh'm), *button* (bət'n). The vocalic *n* and *m* were expressed by *un*, *um*, in A. S., as in conj. 3 ; and the vocalic *r* and *l* by *or* and *ol* in conj. 4.

(c) The accent originally fell upon the *suffix* in the 3rd and 4th stems ; hence, in conj. 5, whereas the *e* in the 1st stem was accented and emphatic, the *e* in the 4th stem was unaccented, and may be taken to have represented, originally, the obscure vowel (ə).

If we now omit the *third* stem, for the present, in the above conjugations, we may write the first five thus, putting *n*, *r*, for the vocalic sounds.

1. *eī*, *aī*, .., *i* = (*e*+*i*, *a*+*i*, .., *i*).
2. *eu*, *au*, .., *u* = (*e*+*u*, *a*+*u*, .., *u*).
3. *en*, *an*, .., *un* = (*e*+*n*, *a*+*n*, .., *n*).
4. *er*, *ar*, .., *or* = (*e*+*r*, *a*+*r*, .., *r*).
5. *e*, *a*, .., *e* = (*e*, *a*, .., *ə*).

It is obvious that all of these result from a single original formula, viz. one which placed *e*, with or without some addition, in the *first* stem ; next, *a* with or without some addition, in the *second* stem ; whilst the *fourth* is what is called a 'reduced' stem, in which the root-vowel of the first stem loses its *e*, owing to the accent having been placed upon the suffix.

The *third* stem is the same as the *fourth* in conjugations 1, 2, and 3 ; but in conjugations 4 and 5, it shows the long vowel *ē*.

49. Comparison with Greek stem-vowels. In comparing Germanic with Greek, it must first be observed

that the Gk. *o* becomes *a* in Germanic ; as in Gk. ὀκτώ, Gothic *ahtau*, G. *acht*, eight ; Gk. χόλ-ος, E. *gall* ; Gk. πόρ-ος, a way, E. *fare*, to travel. Similarly, Gk. *oi* > Germ. *ai* ; and Gk. *ou* > Germ. *au*. This being premised, the foregoing gradations are clearly parallel to those found in Greek, namely :—

1. Germ. *ei*, *ai*, *i* = Gk. *ει*, *οι*, *ι*.
2. Germ. *eu*, *au*, *u* = Gk. *ευ*, *ον*, *υ*.
3. Germ. *en*, *an*, *n* = Gk. *εν*, *ον*, *η*.
4. Germ. *er*, *ar*, *r* = Gk. *ερ*, *ορ*, *ρ*.
5. Germ. *e*, *a*, *ə* = Gk. *ε*, *ο*, *vowel lost*.

Before giving examples, it is necessary to say that the Gk. vocalic *n* became *a*, and the Gk. vocalic *r* became *ap* or *pa*. This premised, observe the following examples.

1. πείθ-ω, πέ-ποιθ-α, ἔ-πιθ-ον (with short *ι*).
2. ἐ-λεύ-σομαι, εἰ-λή-λουθ-α, ἤ-λυθ-ον (with short *υ*).
3. *τεν-ῶ*, future ; *τόν-ος*, sb. ; *τέ-τα-μαι* (for *τέ-την-μαι*).
4. δέρκ-ομαι, δέ-δορκ-α ; ἔ-δρακ-ον (for ἔ-δρ-κον).
5. πέτ-ομαι, vb. ; ποτ-ή, sb. ; ἐ-πτ-όμην (with loss of vowel).

Comparative etymology throws but little light on the origin of Germanic *ē* in the third stem.

50. The sixth conjugation. This conjugation is independent of the preceding. The scheme of gradation is simple ; 1. *a* ; 2, 3, *ō* ; 4. *a* (originally unaccented). The A. S. long *ō* answers to Lat. *ā*, Gk. *η*, Indo-Germanic *ā* ; cf. A. S. *mōdor*, Lat. *māter*, Gk. *μήτηρ*. Hence we may compare stem 1 with Lat. *ag-ere*, Gk. *ἄγ-ειν* ; and stems 2 and 3 with Lat. *amb-āg-es* and Gk. *σπαρ-ηγ-ός*.

51. Prime-grade, middle-grade, zero-grade. It is often convenient to have a special name for the first, second, and fourth grades, which are the most important ones.

The first may be called *prime*, the second *middle*, and the fourth the *zero-grade*, being that in which the prime vowel is reduced (by privation of *e*) to its unaccented form.

The prime-grades in the first six conjugations are, as we have seen, *e(i)*, *e(u)*, *e(n)*, *e(r)*, *e*, *a*; the middle-grades are *a(i)*, *a(u)*, *a(n)*, *a(r)*, *a*, *ō*; and the zero-grades are *i*, *u*, *n*, *r*, *e* (= *ə*), *ǣ*.

52. The seventh conjugation. This conjugation has few traces of gradation, the past tense being formed by 'reduplication.' This is common in Latin and Gk., as in Lat. *pe-pul-i* from *pel-lere*, *ce-cid-i* from *cad-ere*; Gk. *τέ-τυφ-α* from *τύπ-τειν*. So also *fall-an* made, originally, the pt. t. s. *fe-fall*, which would have been written *fai-fall* in Gothic, because Gothic has no other symbol than *ai* for denoting short *e*. But in A. S., Icel., and O. H. Germ., the reduplicated consonant fell out, and the *e* and *a* were contracted into a diphthong; as in A. S. *fēoll*, Icel. *fēll*, O. H. G. *fial*, G. *fiel*. It is sufficient to note here that the first and fourth stems are alike, as also are the second and third. The first stem is rather variable in A. S., exhibiting the vowels *a* (or *ea*), *ā*, *ǣ*, *ō*, *ē*, *ēa*. The second stem usually shows *ēo* or *ē*, rarely *eo* or *e*.

In this conjugation, derivatives are made from the first stem only.

CHAPTER VII.

GRIMM'S LAW.

53. 'Grimm's Law' is a term applied to a certain observed relationship between certain consonantal sounds that occur in the various 'Indo-Germanic' languages. In the original form, as stated by Rask, Grimm, and others, it was not drawn up with sufficient accuracy, and requires to be re-stated before we can apply it practically. As the old form of it is not merely inaccurate, but actually misleading, it is purposely omitted here. I give a simpler form of it below with such modifications as are found to be absolutely necessary.

54. The Indo-Germanic languages. It is found that, in many instances, languages can be classed together in 'groups' or 'families.' One important family of languages is the Semitic, to which belong both Hebrew and Arabic. For Europeans, the most important family of languages is the Indo-Germanic or Aryan. The name 'Aryan' has the advantage of being shorter, and I confess I like it best; but it has of late years acquired a particular use, to denote only a small sub-class of the family, consisting chiefly of Sanskrit and Old Persian. Meanwhile, the term 'Indo-Germanic' has come into common use, and is now generally accepted. It is not a very good term,

as it brings 'Germanic' into too great prominence ; but, being, as I have said, generally accepted, it is useless to discuss its suitableness.

The Indo-Germanic family of languages contains the following groups of languages ; Indian, Iranian, Lettic or Baltic, Slavonic, Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, and Germanic. Besides these, there is the Armenian language, formerly classed among the Iranian group, but now considered as an independent member of the family.

Indian. The Indian group comprises Sanskrit, a literary language, now dead ; modern Indian dialects, sprung from dialectal forms of Sanskrit, such as Hindi, Bengali, and much of Hindustani and the original speech of the Gipsies. Also Pali, the sacred language of the Buddhists, and Cingalese (in Ceylon).

Iranian. This group contains modern Persian, Parsi, Pehlevi ; Zend, the language of the old Persian sacred writings, preserved in the Zend-Avesta ; and the old Persian in which the very interesting cuneiform inscriptions are written. It is remarkable that modern Persian is largely mixed with Arabic, which is not an Indo-Germanic language at all, but Semitic.

Lettic. This group contains Lithuanian, a remarkably well-preserved language, still spoken in Eastern Prussia ; also Old Prussian, and Lettish or Livonian.

Slavonic. Here belong Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servian, &c. ; also the Old Bulgarian (also called the Church-Slavonic), being the language into which Cyrillus and Methodius translated the Bible, in the middle of the ninth century (Max Müller).

Hellenic. This contains various forms of ancient and modern Greek, and the Albanian.

Italic. This includes the old Italian dialects, such as Oscan and Umbrian ; but the chief language in this group is Latin. Latin is the main source of the *Romance* languages, viz. Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Provençal, the Roumansch of the canton Grisons in Switzerland, and the Wallachian of Wallachia and Moldavia.

Celtic. This contains Welsh, Cornish (now extinct), Breton, Irish, Gaelic, and Manx ; the most important of these is the Old Irish.

Germanic, or Teutonic. This group has two chief divisions ; the *Western* group contains English, Frisian, Dutch, and various dialects of German : the *Eastern* group contains Mæso-Gothic and the Scandinavian or Scandian languages, viz. Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish. Amongst the old forms of Germanic languages which are particularly helpful we may notice Old English, with its three dialects of Northumbrian, Mercian, and Wessex or 'Anglo-Saxon' ; Old Frisian, very closely allied to Old English ; Old Saxon, of which the chief monument is the Heliand, a poem on the subject of the Gospels ; Old High German ; Old Swedish ; Icelandic ; and Mæso-Gothic. The Bremen *Wörterbuch* contains a useful collection of Low German words. All Germanic dialects, especially in their oldest forms, are of great service to the student of English etymology.

55. Sound-shifting. Grimm's Law expresses a remarkable difference which has been observed to exist between the consonants employed in the Germanic group and in other groups generally. This difference has been called 'sound-shifting,' in German *Lautverschiebung*, a name for which the reason will become apparent. For this purpose, it is best to divide the Germanic languages

into two classes, one of which, called *High German*, contains German *only*, and the other, called *Low German*, contains *all the rest*, viz. English, Frisian, Dutch, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish and Gothic. The nature of this sound-shifting is best seen from a simple example. Thus the word for 'three' is, in Sanskrit, *tri*, Gk. *τρεῖς*, Lat. *tres*, Russian *tri*, Irish *tri*, Lithuanian *trys*, all beginning with *t*; but in Low German the *t* shifts to *th*, as seen in E. *three*, Goth. *threis*, Icel. *thrír*; and in High German it shifts again, from *th* to *d*, as in Ger. *drei*¹. It is particularly necessary to observe that these shiftings did not occur *simultaneously*, as used to be said, but at very different dates. Hence the change from the Skt., Gk. and Lat. *t* to the Low German *th* (which took place at a date before the primitive Germanic was split up into various tongues), together with other similar changes, constitute what is called the 'first sound-shifting,' and was already accomplished before Moeso-Gothic was first written down in the fourth century; whereas the peculiar changes whereby Old High German was differentiated from the rest of the Germanic languages constitute 'the second sound-shifting,' which took place almost within 'historic' times, being practically completed by the end of the eighth century. This second sound-shifting is comparatively unimportant, being only required to account for special High German forms. It was also carried out much less fully than the former, thus presenting several irregularities which make it difficult to exhibit both sound-shiftings at once, which is what Grimm attempted to do.

¹ The mod. Du. *drie*, Dan. and Swed. *tre*, are not to the point, as their spelling has altered; in applying Grimm's Law, we have to look to the *earliest stages* of each language.

It is best therefore to neglect it in the first instance, and to take it into account afterwards.

56. Antiquity of the facts. It is very common, amongst those ignorant of the first principles of philology, to speak of 'Grimm's Law' as if it were something wholly new. It is, however, merely a modern statement concerning very ancient facts; and the statement might have been made by King Alfred if he had happened to observe it with sufficient accuracy. I mention King Alfred advisedly, because there are numerous examples of its practical application in his translation of the history of Orosius. Thus he turns Mt. *Atlas* into *Athlans* (with *th* for *t*); he invariably speaks of the *Greeks* as '*Crēcas*,' i.e. with *C* for *G*; he calls King *Dardanus* of Troy by the name of *Tardanus* (with *t* for *d*); with other notable changes in many names. Besides, it is of course obvious that it was not owing to any instruction from Grimm that the Gothic has *threis* where Latin has *tres*.

57. The Formulae. The simpler form (see § 54) of Grimm's Law may be thus exhibited.

Write down the following rows of letters :—

DH, D, T, TH.

BH, B, P, PH (F).

GH, G, K, KH (H).

GHw, Gw, Q, KHw (Hw).

The Law is : In each case, the Indo-Germanic sound corresponding to any symbol (except the last) in any row, is shifted, in cognate Germanic words, to the sound corresponding to the symbol which next succeeds it.

Thus, if > represents the 'shifting,' we have the formulae :—

DH > D ; D > T ; T > TH.

BH > B ; B > P ; P > F.

GH > G ; G > K ; K > H.

GHw > Gw ; Gw > Q ; Q > Hw.

It is sufficient to remember the row DH, D, T, TH ; this is the key to all the rest, as they all run in parallel courses.

It only remains to explain the symbols.

58. The Dental Series : DH, D, T, TH.

D and T signify *d* and *t* respectively, in all the languages. TH means the original Germanic *th*, still the sound of initial *þ* (*th*) in Icelandic. In English *þ* (*th*) has become voiced to *ð* (*dh*), initially, in the case of a few very common words, viz. those allied to *the* (as *that, this, they, them, there, thence, thither*) and to *thou* (as *thee, thine, thy*).

DH usually answers to Skt. *dh*, Gk. *θ*, Lat. *f* initially, *d*, *b* medially.

Exx. DH > D. Skt. *duhitar* (put for **dhuhiter*)¹, daughter ; Gk. *θυγάτηρ* ; E. *daughter*. Skt. *dhā*, to put, place ; Gk. *τίθημι*, I put ; E. *do*. Skt. *dih* (for *dhigh*)¹, to smear ; Gk. *θίγγαναι*, to touch, handle ; Lat. *ingere*, to mould ; Goth. *deigan*, to mould, knead ; E. *dough*, that which is kneaded. Skt. *rudhira*, blood ; Gk. *έρυθρός*, red ; Lat. *ruber* ; E. *red*.

D > T. Skt. *daśan*, ten ; Gk. *δέκα* ; L. *decem* ; Goth. *taihun* ; E. *ten*. Skt. *dva*, two ; Gk. *δύο* ; L. *duo* ; E. *two*. Skt. *ad*, to eat ; Gk. *ἐδεν* ; L. *edere* ; E. *eat*.

T > TH. Skt. *tvam*, thou ; Gk. *σύ* (Attic *σί*) ; L. *tu* ; E. *thou*. Skt. *tri*, three ; Gk. *τρεῖς* ; L. *tres* ; E. *three*.

¹ In these instances, the Skt. *dh* became *d*, because *h* or *gh* follows.

Skt. *antara*, other; Lithuanian *antras*; L. *alter* (for **anter*); Goth. *anthar*; A. S. *ōðer*; E. *other*.

59. The Labial Series: BH, B, P, PH (F). BH answers to Skt. *bh*, Gk *φ*, L. *f*. PH is Germanic *f*.

BH > B. Gk. *φηγός*, L. *fagus*, E. *beech*. Skt. *bhrātar*, brother; L. *frater*, E. *brother*. Skt. *bhū*, to be; Gk. *φύω*; L. *fui*, I was; E. *be*.

B > P. Old Bulgarian *slabu*, slack, weak, from the root *slēb*, to be slack; E. *sleep*, originally 'to be relaxed.' Examples of this change are extremely rare. One of them is seen in the very early borrowed word *hemp*, from Gk. *κάνναβις*.

P > F. Skt. *pad*, foot; Gk. *ποῦς* (gen. *ποδός*); Lat. *pēs*; E. *foot*. Lat. *pecus*, cattle; A. S. *feoh*, cattle; E. *fee*. Gk. *κλέπτης*, a thief; Goth. *hlifan*, to steal; *hliftus*, a thief; cf. E. *shop-lifter*. Skt. *āpa*, from, Gk. *ἀπο*; E. *off*, *of*.

60. The Guttural Series. This series splits into two sets, according as it is not, or is, affected by labialism, which is expressed in the last formula by the small 'w' succeeding the capitals. These two sets are called the 'palatal' and the 'velar' gutturals, respectively. In the former case, a given guttural letter, such as *g*, is pronounced in such a way that it can easily become palatalised, or as if a *y* can easily be pronounced after it. The 'velar' *g* is pronounced more by aid of the *velum palati*, or soft palate, and is easily followed by a labial *w*. It is curious to observe that both sets were variously treated in various languages. Thus, in Greek, Latin, and Celtic, the *k*, *g*, and *gh* remained as gutturals, which was not the case in Sanskrit, Lithuanian, and Slavonic. For example, the Gk. *κλυτός*, renowned, Lat. *in-clutus*, Irish *cloth*, renowned, are allied to Skt. *çrutas*, heard, renowned, and the O. Bul-

garian *slovo*, 'a word,' in which *k* has become *s*, i. e. the guttural has become a sibilant. Again, the Greek, Latin, and Irish velar gutturals suffered labialisation in some cases, whilst the Skt., Lithuanian and Slavonic never did so. For example, the Indo-Germanic *Q* appears as *k* in Skt. *kas*, who, Lith. *kàs*, O. Bulgarian *kuto*; whereas Gk. has the related word *πόθεν*, whence (with *p* for *qu*), Lat. has *quis*, who, and Welsh has *pwyl* (with *p* for *qu*), who, what. All these considerations make the history of the gutturals much more difficult to follow than that of the dentals and labials.

Germanic shews a considerable tendency to labialization; so that the palatal and velar series must be considered separately.

61. Exx. GH > G. The original GH is represented in Skt. by *h*, in Gk. by *χ*; in Latin it is *h* or *f* initially, and *h* (which often drops out) medially, or *g* (after a consonant). Lith. has *ž*, and Slavonic *z*. Thus, Gk. *χειμών*, Lat. *hiems*, winter. Skt. *hamsa*, swan, Gk. *χῆν*, goose, Lat. *anser* (for **hanser*), Lith. *žąsis*, E. *goose*. [The Russ. *gus*', being an exceptional form, may have been borrowed from some other language.] Gk. *χολή*, Lat. *fel*, E. *gall*. Gk. *ἄχος*, anguish; Goth. *agis*, fear; Icel. *agi* (whence E. *awe*).

G > K. The G corresponds to Skt. *j*, Lith. *ž*, Slav. *z*, Gk. *γ*, Lat. *g*. Skt. *jānu*, Gk. *γόνυ*, L. *genu*, knee; Goth. *kniū*, E. *knee*. Skt. *jñā*, to know, Gk. *γι-γνώσκειν*, L. (*g*)*noscere* (cf. *i-gnotus*), Lith. *žinoti*, Russ. *znate*; E. *know*.

K > H. Gk. *κ*; L. *c*; Skt. *ç* (a sound that has been changed from *k* to *s*); Lith. *cz*; Slav. *s*. In Germanic it shifts to *h* (except when it becomes *g* by Verner's Law,

as explained hereafter). Thus, Skt. *çata*, a hundred, Gk. *έκατόν*, L. *centum*, Lith. *szimtas*, Old Slav. *suto* (Russ. *sto*), Welsh *cant* ; E. *hund-* in *hund-red* (where *-red* is a suffix).

62. GHw > Gw. Skt. *gh*, *h* ; Gk. *χ*, *φ*, *θ* ; Lat. *g*, *h*, *f*, initially, and *gu*, *v*, medially, Lith. and Slav. *g*. Lat. *hostis*, a stranger, allied to E. *guest*. Gk. *στέλλειν*, to ascend, A. S. *stīgan* (whence E. *stirrup*).

Gw > Q. Skt. *j*, *g* ; Lith. *g* ; Gk. *γ*, *β* ; Lat. *g*, *b*, *v* ; Germanic *k*, *kw*. Skt. *janas*, Lith. *gamas*, Gk. *γένος*, Lat. *genus* ; E. *kin*. Skt. *yugam*, Lith. *jungas*, Gk. *ζυγόν*, Lat. *iugum* ; E. *yoke*. Skt. *go*, Gk. *βοῦς*, Lat. *bos* ; E. *cow*. Skt. *jiv*, to live, allied to Gk. *βίος*, life, Lat. *uiuus* (= **gwiuus*), living ; Lith. *gywas*, living ; Goth. *kwius*, living ; E. *quick*.

Q > Hw. Skt. *k*, *ch* ; Gk. *κ*, *π* (before *ο*), *τ* (before *ι, ε*) ; Lat. *qu* ; A. S. *hw*, E. *wh* (also *h*, *f*). Skt. *kas*, who ; Gk. *τίς*, Lat. *qui*, *quis* ; Goth. *hwas*, A. S. *hwā*, E. *who*. The Indo-Germanic *wlqos* (with vocalic *l*), a wolf, appears as Skt. *vrkas*, Gk. *λύκος* (for *φλύκος*), L. *lupus* (for **wluquus*) ; Lith. *wilkas*, Russ. *volk'* ; in this case the regular Gothic *hw* is replaced by *f* (corresponding by Grimm's Law to the Lat. *p*), whence Goth. *wulfs*, E. *wolf*. Indo-Germanic *qetwar*, four ; Skt. *chatvar*, Gk. *τέτταρες*, *τέσσαρες*, L. *quatuor*, O. Irish *cethir*, Lith. *kéturi*, Russ. *chetvaro*, Welsh *pedwar* ; Goth. *fidwor* (with *f* corresponding to Welsh *p*), A. S. *fēower*, E. *four*.

63. TABLE OF THE REGULAR SUBSTITUTION OF CONSONANTS.

In the following table, the Indo-Germanic symbols are on the left, and the Germanic on the extreme right. By

comparing these, the shifting of the consonantal sound is at once perceived. Only the *usual* correspondences are given; it would make it too complex to include every case. I now place the gutturals first, as usual.

Idg.	Skt.	Gk.	Lat.	Lith.	Slav.	Irish.	Goth.	A.S.	Germ.
GH	<i>h</i>	<i>χ</i>	<i>h, f (g)</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>G</i>
G	<i>j</i>	<i>γ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>K</i>
K	<i>ç</i>	<i>κ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>sz</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>c, ch</i>	<i>h [g]</i>	<i>h [g]</i>	<i>H</i>
GHw	<i>gh, h</i>	<i>χ, φ, θ</i>	<i>{ g, h, f }</i> <i>(gu, v)</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	Gw, G.
Gw	<i>g, j</i>	<i>γ, β</i>	<i>g, v, b</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g, ž</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>kw, k</i>	<i>cw, c</i>	Q, K
Q	<i>k, ch</i>	<i>π, κ, τ</i>	<i>qu, c, v</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>c, ch</i>	<i>hw, h</i>	<i>hw, h</i>	Hw
DH	<i>dh</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>f, (d, b)</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	D
D	<i>d</i>	<i>δ</i>	<i>d, l</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	T
T	<i>t</i>	<i>τ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t, th</i>	<i>th [d]</i>	<i>þ, [d]</i>	TH
BH	<i>bh</i>	<i>φ</i>	<i>f, h (b)</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b (m)</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	B
B	<i>b</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	P
P	<i>p</i>	<i>π</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>f [b]</i>	<i>f [b]</i>	F

In the above Table, the Latin sounds within a parenthesis occur only *medially*. The Gothic and A. S. sounds within square brackets are variations due to Verner's Law.

64. Application. In seeking for words in other languages which are cognate with English, we have only to begin with the *right* hand column, and we have the converse changes, viz. *G* < *GH*, and the like. Exx. E. *goose*, Gk. *χίν*. E. *gall*, Lat. *fel*, Gk. *χολή*. But the A. S. *g* may appear as E. *y*, initially; hence, E. *yard*, A. S. *geard*, is allied to Lat. *hortus*, Gk. *χόρτος*. Finally and medially, the A. S. *g* may become part of an E. diphthong;

thus E. *lie*, A. S. *licgan*, pt. t. *læg*, is allied to Gk. λέχος, a bed. E. *wain*, A. S. *wægen*, is allied to Lat. *uehere*, Skt. *vah*, to carry.

The Germanic consonant may thus be considerably changed in mod. E. ; we must look to the A. S., Gothic, Icelandic, and other old forms.

65. Examples. I conclude by giving a much fuller set of examples of one of the above changes, viz. T < D, shewing that an E. *t* corresponds to Indo-Germanic D.

INITIALLY. E. *tooth* ; L. acc. *dentem*. E. *tame* ; Lat. *domare*, to tame. E. *timber* (for building) ; Gk. δέμ-ειν, to build. E. *tear*, sb., Goth. *tagr* ; Gk. δάκρυ, L. *lacruma* (originally *dacruma*). E. *tear*, verb ; Gk. δέρειν, to flay, Russ. *dira*, a rent. E. *tree* ; Gk. δρῦς, Russ. *drevo*. E. *town*, A. S. *tūn*, an enclosure ; O. Irish *dūn*, a walled town. E. *tow*, *tug* ; Lat. *ducere*. E. *tongue* ; O. Lat. *dingua*, L. *lingua*. E. *ten* ; L. *decem*. E. *to*, prep. ; Russ. *do*, O. Ir. *do*, to. E. *two* ; L. *duo*.

FINALLY. E. *at* ; L. *ad*. E. *out* ; Skt. *ud*, up, out. E. *eat* ; L. *edere*. E. *what* ; L. *quod*, *quid*. E. *foot* ; L. acc. *pedem*, Gk. acc. πόδα. E. *fleet*, *float* ; Lithuan. *pludau*, I float. E. *bite* ; Lat. *fi(n)dere*, Skt. *bhid*, to cleave. E. *wit*, *wot* ; L. *uidere*, to see, Gk. ἰδ-ειν, οἶδ-α. E. *sit* ; L. *sedere*. E. *swart*, black ; L. *sordidus*, dirty. E. *sweat* ; L. *sudor*.

MEDIALY. E. *better* ; Skt. *bhad-ra*, good. E. *water* ; Russ. *voda*, Gk. ὕδωρ. E. *otter* ; Gk. ὕδρα, water-snake, whence E. *hydra* ; Lith. *udra*, an otter.

66. The Second Shifting: Peculiarities of the High German Consonantal System. The great defect in the original statement of Grimm's Law is that it gives the impression that the *second* sound-shifting, whereby High

German is distinguished from all the other members of the Germanic group, took place simultaneously with the former shifting, in the same direction, and to an equal extent. But the truth is, that it is a much later development, and was very imperfectly carried out. It seems to have set in about A.D. 600, and to have been completed about A. D. 800. If we look at the series DH, D, T, TH, and remember that there is no Low-German DH, we see that only D, T, and TH remain. If then we find a shifting from D to T, and from T to TH, the shifting in the third instance can only be from TH to D; and of such a character is, in fact, this second shifting. However, High German does not use the sound TH, but substitutes TS for it, written *z*. Hence, the second shifting is denoted by the formulæ:—D > T; T > TS (*z*); TH > D. But these require slight further modification, viz. when the TS occurs medially or finally, i. e. in the middle, or at the end of a word. The exact results are these.

Dental Series. Germanic D > H. G. *t*. Germanic T > H. G. *z* (initially), or *ss* (medially); or *z*, *tz*, *ss*, *s* (finally). Germanic TH > H. G. *d*.

As English retains the Germanic dental, the following are examples:—

D > T. Initially: E. daughter, G. *Tochter*; deaf, *taub*; death, *Tod*; &c. Medially; middle, *mittel*; fodder, *Futter*, &c. Finally: broad, *breit*; bride, *Braut*; brood, *Brut*, &c. But *ld*, *nd* remain unchanged; mild, *mild*; end, *Ende*.

T > TS (*z*, *tz*, *ss*, *s*). Initially: tale, *Zahl*; tame, *zahn*, ten, *zehn*; &c. Medially: better, *besser*; fetter, *Fessel*; nettle, *Nessel*. Finally: net, *Netz*; heart, *Herz*; swart,

schwartz; great, *gross*; hate, *Hass*; what, *was*. But *t* remains after *ch*, *f*, and *s*; as: fight, *fechten*; oft, *oft*; guest, *Gast*.

TH > D. Initially: that, *dass*, *das*; thick, *dick*; thief, *Dieb*; &c. Medially: feather, *Feder*; fother (a cart-load), *Fuder*. Finally: north, *Nord*; oath, *Eid*.

67. Labial Series. For the labial series, the formulæ are: B > Old High German P (G. *p*, *b*); P > PF, F; F > F, V. Thus the shifting is here very imperfectly carried out.

Examples. B > P (B). Initially: babble, *pappeln*; bolster, *Polster*. But usually, the Germanic *b* remains, as in bed, *Bett*; beard, *Bart*, &c. The change to *p* is found in O. H. G.; as in brother, *Bruder*, O. H. G. *pruoder*.

Medially: in this case, the medial and final *b*, as found in Gothic, is also found in German, whereas it appears in A. S. as *f* (*f*, *v*), and in E. as *f* (*ff*) or *v* (*ve*). Exx. Goth. *daubs*, G. *taub*, E. *deaf*; Goth. *dreiban*, G. *treiben*, E. *drive*.

P > PF, F. Initially: path, *Pfad*; pipe, vb., *pfeifen*. Medially and finally: carp (fish), *Karpfen*; drop, *Tropfen*; deep, *tief*; harp, *Harfe*; ape, *Affe*; ship, *Schiff*.

F > F(V). Here F remains; but some archaic G. words are spelt with *v* (sounded as *f*).

Examples: fall, *fallen*; fast, *fest*; father, *Vater*; fee, *Vieh* (cattle); folk, *Volk*; for, *vor*; four, *vier*; fowl, *Vogel* (bird); full, *voll*.

68. Guttural Series. In the guttural series, the difference between velar and palatal gutturals may here be neglected. There is, practically, no shifting at all.

Examples; G: gall, *Galle*; go, *gehen*. But, in English, the initial *g* is often *y*, and the medial *g* is often lost or

forms part of a diphthong. Thus: day, *Tag*; way, *Weg*; honey, *Honig*; eye, *Auge*; draw, *tragen*; maid, *Magd*; rain, *Regen*.

K remains as Ger. *k*, initially, otherwise *ch*. English has *c*, *k*, or *ch*.

Examples: can, *kann*; king, *König*; chew, *kauen*. Also: book, *Buch*; beech, *Buche*. KW is E. *qu*, G. *k*; as in quick, *keck*.

H is lost, both in German and in English, before *l*, *n*, and *r*; otherwise it remains, initially; in other positions, it appears as E. *gh*, G. *h* or *ch*, or is lost.

Examples: hail, *Hagel*; A. S. *hlūd*, loud, *laut*; A. S. *hnutu*, nut, *Nuss*; A. S. *hræfn*, raven, *Raben*. Also: high, *hoch*; nigh, *nahe*; tough, *zähe*; eight, *acht*.

HW is A. S. *hw*, E. *wh*, G. *w*; A. S. *hwelp*, whelp, *Welf*.

69. Verner's Law. This law, discovered by K. Verner, of Copenhagen, in 1875, fully and satisfactorily accounts for certain apparent exceptions to Grimm's Law. Take, for example, the words *father*, *mother*, *brother*. It so happens that *father* and *mother* are merely *modern* forms, due to form-association with the old *brōðor*; for the A. S. forms are *fæder*, *mōdor*, *brōðor*. The Latin forms are *pater*, *mater*, *frater*; and therefore, by Grimm's Law, the A. S. forms should be, properly, *fæper*, *mōpor*, *brōpor*, and the German forms should be *Vader*, *Muder*, *Bruder*. But of these, A. S. has only *brōpor* (broothor), later *brōðor* (broodhor), and the G. has *Bruder*; the other forms are not found. The problem was, to explain this anomaly.

The answer is, that all depends upon the position of the ACCENT in the Indo-Germanic word; and Verner's Law may be stated thus:—

If an Indo-Germanic K, T, or P immediately follows the position of the accent, it shifts regularly to the Low German H, TH, or F; otherwise, it becomes (as by a further shifting) GH (*g*). DH (*ð, d*), BH (*b = v*).

In Sanskrit, the true old nominatives of 'father,' 'mother,' and 'brother' were, respectively, *pita'r*, *māta'r*, *bhrā'tar*, where the dot shews the position of the accent. In *bhrā'tar*, the accent preceded the *t*, and the shiftings were regular; cf. E. *brother*, G. *Bruder*. But in *pita'r*, *māta'r*, the accent did *not* precede the *t*; hence a further shifting took place, giving A. S. *fæder* (as if A. S. **fæber* > A. S. **fæðer* > A. S. *fæder*), and G. *Vater* (as if G. **Vader* > G. *Vater*).

Verner's Law also explains some points in A. S. grammar. The most striking is that such a verb as *snīdan*, to cut, makes the pt. t. sing. *snāþ*, but the plural is *snidon*, and the pp. is *sniden*. Here the right consonant is *þ*, but the *d*, a later substitution for *ð*, is due to a second shifting. Hence the pt. t. plural was originally accented as **snīðo'n*, which passed into *snidon*, and the pp. was originally *snīðe'n*, which passed into *sniden*. This is proved by the Sanskrit accent; the pt. t. s. of Skt. *bhid*, to cleave, is *bi-bhe'da*, with the accent on the root-syllable, whereas the pt. t. pl. (first person) is *bi-bhid-ima*; with the accent on the last syllable. So too the pp. is *bhin-na*, with the accent on the final vowel.

Similarly, we have the Goth. *slah-an*, A. S. (contracted form) *slēan*, to slay; the A. S. pt. t. s. is *slōh* (with *h*); but the pt. t. pl. is *slōgon*, and the pp. is *slagen*, E. *slain* (both with *g*).

70. Change of s to r. Verner's Law even tells us more; for we learn that, under similar circumstances,

the A. S. *s* first became *z*, and then passed into *r*. Thus the A. S. *cēosan*, to choose, makes the pt. t. s. *cēas* (with *s*); but the pt. t. pl. is *curon*, and the pp. is *coren* (both with *r*). And so in other verbs. Thus the pp. of *frēosan*, to freeze, was *froren*; hence, Milton's *frore*, *P. L.* ii. 595; and country people complain of 'being *frorn*.'

Another result is this. The Skt. suffix *-ta* of the pp. was *accented*; hence the E. pp. ending (for weak verbs) exhibits *d*, not *th*; cf. Lat. *dom-i-tus* with E. *tam-e-d*. Thus E. *loud*, A. S. *hlūd*, was originally a pp. form, cognate with Gk. *κλυτός*, renowned (accented on *o*), and Skt. *çruta*; heard. A remarkable example occurs in the sb. *death* (Goth. *dauthus*) as compared with *dead* (Goth. *dauths*). Here Gothic has the *th* in both places; but English makes a distinction.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSONANTAL CHANGES.

71. IN the chapters on Vowel-mutation and Vowel-gradation, the principal vowel-changes in the 'native' portion of the language have been noted. In the chapter on Grimm's Law we see certain consonantal changes taking place in cognate words in the various Indo-Germanic languages. This also refers to the native portion.

We have now to consider the consonantal changes that have taken place in the history of our language, as it changed from time to time; here also, we must, in the present sketch, usually exclude words of foreign origin.

72. The following are the principal methods whereby consonantal change is effected in English.

CHANGES IN SOUND, OFTEN IMPERFECTLY INDICATED BY SYMBOLS.

1. Palatalisation.
2. Voicing of voiceless letters.
3. Vocalisation of voiced letters.
4. Assimilation, producing combinations of voiceless, voiced, or doubled letters.
5. Substitution of one voiceless letter for another, or of one voiced letter for another.
6. Metathesis; or change of place of adjacent consonants.

7. Abbreviation of various kinds.
8. Change of voiced letters to voiceless.
9. Insertion of 'excrecent' letters ; and other additions.

CHANGES IN THE SYMBOLS, OR DUE TO THEM.

10. Change of symbol without change of sound.
11. Misapprehension of symbols.
12. Doubling of consonantal symbols.

To these we must add, in connection with the subject :

13. Vowel-changes due to consonantal influence.
14. Confluence of forms, usually due to 'form-association.'

I give one example, in each case, for clearness.

1. *Palatalisation*. Guttural *k* > palatal *ch* ; A. S. *cild* (*kild*, later *child*) > E. *child* (*chaild*).

2. *Voicing*. Voiceless *t* > voiced *d* ; A. S. *prūt* (*pruut*) > E. *proud* (*praud*).

3. *Vocalisation*. The A. S. *g* is vocalised in A. S. *dæg* (*dæg*, later *dæi*) > E. *day* (*dei*).

4. *Assimilation*. The word *looked* is pronounced *lookt*, so that *kd* > *kt* ; *dogs* is pronounced *dogz*, where *gs* > *gz*. The A. S. *hlāfmæsse* became M. E. *lammasse*, E. *Lammas*.

5. *Substitution*. Thus *k* > *t* in M. E. *bakke*, E. *bat*, the winged mammal.

6. *Metathesis*. We often hear *ax* (*æks*) for *ask* (*aask*).

7. *Abbreviation*. A. S. *fugol* (*fugol*, *fuwol*), E. *fowl* (*faul*). Lat. *episcopus*, E. *bishop*.

8. *Unvoicing*. Rare. Cf. A. S. *cudele* with E. *cuttle-fish*.

9. *Addition*. A. S. *æm-tig* is E. *em-p-ty*, with excrement *p*.

10. *Symbol-change*. A. S. *cw* is E. *qu* ; A. S. *cwēn*, E. *queen*.

11. *Misapprehension.* E. *capercailzie* is from the older form *capercalze*.

12. *Doubling.* A. S. *biter*, E. *bitter*, without change of sound.

13. *Consonantal influence.* Thus M. E. *derk* is E. *dark*; and *er* > *ar* is common, as in *clerk*, and prov. E. *varmint*.

14. *Confluence.* A. S. *geard* and A. S. *gyrde* are now both *yard*.

Many of the above changes are noted below, in the 'history' of the letter-changes.

73. *Palatalisation.* This is so common, that a few more words are necessary.

The letters *k* and *g* are extremely liable to be followed by an inserted or 'parasitic' *y*, introduced between the letter and the succeeding vowel. Thus, in vulgar pronunciation, E. *kind* is sometimes *kyind*, and *garden* is sometimes *gyarden*. The next step would be the passage of *ky* into *ch*, and of *gy* into *j* or *y*. This is extremely common in A. S., in which dialect the parasitic vowel, expressed by *e*, produced a similar effect. Thus Lat. *calcem* > A. S. *cealc* > E. *chalk*; A. S. *geard* > E. *yard*; A. S. *brycge* (*brygye*) > M. E. *brigge* (*brij-jə*) > E. *bridge* (*brijj*).

The 'palatal' vowels are *e* and *i*, and the above changes are due to them.

So also A. S. *sce* > E. *sh*; as in A. S. *sceal* (*skiäl*), E. *shall* (*shæl*).

So also *ti* > (*ch*); *si* > (*sh*); *di* > (*j*); *zi* > (*zh*).

Hence *question* (*kweschən*); *pension* (*penshən*); *soldier* (*souljə*). A. S. *grasian*, E. *graze*, gives the sb. *grazier* (*grei'zhə*).

74. I now proceed to note the principal changes in each of our consonantal sounds

In considering the consonants, the following is a convenient arrangement of them :—

K, KW, H, HW, G ; T, TH, D, N ; P, F, B, M ; Y, R, L, W ; S.

Each of these symbols refers to the original Germanic sound.

History of K. The sound (k) is written as *c* in A. S., and as *c* (before *a*, *o*, *u*) or as *k* in E. The A. S. *c*, when followed by *e* or *i*, becomes *ch*, by palatalisation. The usual changes are these :—

k > ch, initially and even elsewhere ; **k > ch > j** ; **k > g**, or disappears ; **k > t**, **p** ; **kk > M. E. cch > E. tch** (finally) ; **sk > sh**.

Examples : **k > ch**. Due to palatalisation, before *e* and *i*. Lat. *calcem*, acc. ; A. S. *cealc*, E. *chalk*. A. S. *cinn*, E. *chin*. Note that, whilst *i* causes this change, the A. S. *y* does not ; contrast A. S. *cinn*, *chin*, with A. S. *cyn*, *kin*. A. S. *cild*, *child* ; *cīdan*, to *chide*.

Finally, in E. ; A. S. *bēce*, E. *beech*. A. S. *benc* (dat. *bence*), E. *bench* ; where, as often, the E. form is due to the dative case ; the nominative would have given us *benk*. A. S. *cwencan*, later *cwencen*, M. E. *quenchen*, E. *quench*.

k > ch > j ; by voicing of *ch*. By adding Icel. suffix *-leiki* to E. *know*, we obtain M. E. *know-leche*, E. *knowledge* (nol'ej). A. S. *cierr*, a turn ; M. E. *on char*, on the turn ; E. *ajar*, said of a door. In French words, *k* may become (s) ; as in Lat. *principem* (prin'kipem), F. *prince*, E. *prince* (prins).

k > g, by voicing ; not common. Icel. *sprek*, E. *sprig* ; A. S. *dīcian*, to make a dike, M. E. *diggen*, E. *dig*. *k* is lost in A. S. *bær-lic*, M. E. *barliz* (*Ormulum*), E. *barley* ; also in A. S. *ic*, E. *I* ; and in all words ending in *-ly*, A. S. *-līc*, as *man-ly*.

k > t, p ; by substitution. E. *ask*, prov. E. *ast* ; Tudor E. *apricock*, E. *apricot* ; A. S. *gemaca*, a companion, a mate. Lat. *locusta* (marina), A. S. *lopust*, later *loppestre*, lit. 'jumper,' by popular etymology ; E. *lobster*.

kk > M. E. cch, E. tch. A. S. *picc-e*, E. *thick*, without change ; but A. S. *flicce*, M. E. *flicche*, E. *fitch* ; A. S. *wæcce*, E. *watch* (a watchman).

sk > sh (M. E. *sch, sh*). A. S. *æsc*, dat. *æsce*, M. E. *asch*, *ash*, E. *ash* (tree) ; A. S. *fisc*, dat. *fisce*, E. *fish* ; A. S. *flæsc*, dat. *flæsce*, E. *flesh*.

In **kn**, the **k** is no longer sounded ; A. S. *cnīf* (kniif), E. *knife* (naif). It is written *gn* in *gnarled*, allied to M. E. *knarre*, a knot in wood.

75. KW. A. S. *cw*, E. *qu*, without change of sound ; A. S. *cwēn*, E. *queen*.

76. H. Initial *h* was originally sounded in E. words, and dropped in words of A. F. (Anglo-French) origin ; as in *hot* (hot), *heir* (eiə). But many of the latter now take the *h*, as *habit*, *haughty*, *hearse*, *heritage*, *hideous*, *homage*, *horrible*, and even *herb*, *humble*. Probably the lower orders, mostly of 'native' origin, naturally aspirated the *h*, but often dropped it, even in a wrong place, in their attempts to imitate the higher classes, who were better acquainted with French. Hence much confusion.

hl > l ; hn > n ; hr > r (initially). A. S. *hlūd*, E. *loud* ; A. S. *hnutu*, E. *nut* ; A. S. *hrēod*, E. *reed*. In this way, *h* is dropped in *ladder*, *lade*, *ladle*, *lady*, *Lammas*, *lank*, *lapwing*, *last* (of herrings), *laugh*, *lean*, vb. and adj., *leap*, *lid*, *link*, *listen*, *loaf*, *lord*, *lot*, *loud* ; *nap*, vb., *nap* (of cloth), *neck*, *neigh*, *nesh*, *nettle* (*h* lost even in A. S.), *nit*, *nod*, *nut* ; *neif*, *niggard* (Scandian) ; *rail* (a night-dress), *ramsons*, *rather*, *rattle*, *raven*, *raw*, *retch*, *rearmouse*, *reed*, *reel* (for

yarn), *rend*, *rick*, *rid*, *riddle* (sieve), *ridge*, *rime* (hoarfrost), *rind*, *ring*, *rink*, *ripple*, *roof*, *rook* (bird), *roast*, *rue*, vb., *rumple*, *rung*; also in the Scandian words *rap*, to snatch, *rape*, a division of Sussex, *rifle*, vb., *rouse*, *ruck*, a fold, *ruck*, a small heap, *rush*, vb., *ruth*.

h > *gh*, or is lost (finally); *ht* > *ght*. The final *h* had the sound of G. *ch*; it was written *gh* in M. E., and in E. becomes (f) or is mute. A. S. *genōh*, M. E. *y-nogh*, *y-nough*, E. *enough* (inuf); A. S. *dāh*, M. E. *dogh*, *dough*, E. *dough* (dou). The mod. E. *-ough* has three origins, and stands for *-ugh* (A. S. *-uh*), *-ogh* (A. S. *-āh*), and *-oogh* (A. S. *-ōh*). Exx. *through*, for *thruhh*, M. E. *thuruh*, A. S. *þurh*; *dough*, for *dogh*, A. S. *dāh*; *bough* (as if descended from M. E. *boogh*), A. S. *bōh*, the *ō* becoming first *ou* (uu), and then mod. E. *ou* (au). In *rough*, from A. S. *rūh*, the *ū* (uu) has been shortened to (u), and then 'unrounded.' In *neigh*, *weigh*, the *gh* comes from *g*, not *h*.

A. S. *ht* > M. E. *ght* > E. *ght* (t); A. S. *riht*, M. E. *right*, E. *right* (rait). Final *h* is even lost in spelling in *fee*, *lea*, *roe*; and initial *h* is lost in *it*. It is even lost, finally, in A. S.; cf. Goth. *skoh-s* with A. S. *seeō*, E. *shoe*.

Delight, *sprightly* are false spellings for *delite*, *spritely*; they are of Anglo-French origin.

77. **HW.** A. S. *hw* is E. *wh*, often sounded as *w*. A. S. *hwæt*, E. *what* (Northern *whot*, Southern *wot*). *Whit* is misspelt for *wiht*, A. S. *wiht*, and is a doublet of *wight*. *Whelk* is better as *wilk*, A. S. *wiloc*. *Whortleberry* is for *wirtle-berry*; cf. A. S. *biscop-wyrtil*, a plant-name.

78. **G.** *G* remains as (g) in *giddy*, *gift*, *gild*, (be)gin, *gird*, *give*; probably all Mercian or Northern, not A. S. Written *gh* in *ghastly*, *ghost*; written *gu* in *guest*, *guild*, *guilt*.

ge, gi > y, initially ; otherwise, **g > gh** (silent), **y** (vocal), **i, w** (vocal), **ow, f**, or disappears.

Exx. A. S. *gē*, *ye* ; *gēar*, *year* ; *girnan*, to yearn for ; *ge-wis*, *y-wis* (iwis) ; *hnāgan*, to neigh ; *weg*, *way* ; *nægel*, *nail* ; *maga*, *maw* ; *morgen*, M. E. *morwen*, *morwe*, *morrow* ; *dwerig*, *dwarf* ; *nigon*, *nine*.

ng. The A. S. *ng* (*ngg*, *ngy*) remains or is palatalised to (nj). A. S. *sing-an*, to sing ; *sengan* (*sengyan*), to singe. Cf. *cringe*, *swinge*, *twinge*, *dingy*, *stingy*.

gg > dge (jj, j). Double *g* (*gg*, *gy*) is written *cg* in A. S. ; it usually became *gg* or *gge* (jjə) in M. E., and *dge* (jj, j) in E. **Exx.** *brycg*, gen. *brycge*, M. E. *brigge*, E. *bridge* ; so *edge*, *midge*, *ridge*, *sedge*, *wedge*. The hard *gg* (*g*) only remains in Scandian words ; such are *egg*, sb., and *egg on*, verb.

gn > (n), initially. **Exx.** *gnat*, *gnaw*.

§ 79. **T.** **t > d** (rarely) ; or it may disappear.

Exx. A. S. *prūt*, *proud* ; *prȳte*, *pride*. *T* is lost in *anvil*, A. S. *anfilte* ; before *st* in *be(t)st*, *la(t)st* ; and in *ado* for *at do*. Also in *blossom*, A. S. *blōstma* ; *gorse*, A. S. *gorst*. It is mute in *boatswain*, *castle*, *Christmas*, *mistletoe*, *wrestle*. In *tawdry*, it is all that is left of *saint* ; *Saint Awdry* was *Saint Æþelþryð* (noble-strength). *T* is developed, or 'ex-crescent,' after *n*, *s*, *x*, preceded by the accent, as in A. S. *anefn*, *anemn*, whence *anen-t* ; and in *against*, *amids-t*, *behes-t*, *betwix-t*, *hes-t*, *mids-t*, *whils-t*, and in *earnest*, sb., a pledge, M. E. *ernes* (of F. origin).

§ 80. **TH.** It has two sounds, voiceless (th) and voiced (dh) ; here conventionally written *þ*, *ð*, respectively, in A. S. words. *þ* (th) > t ; *ð* (dh) > d, in some cases.

Exx. A. S. *hēþa*, M. E. *heþe*, *hiþe*, E. *height* ; A. S. *gesihþ*, *gesiht*, E. *sight* ; A. S. *þiefþe*, E. *theft* ; A. S. *nosþyrl*, E. *nostril* ; A. S. *stæhwyrþ*, E. *stalwart*.

A. S. *geforðian*, *forðian*, to further, promote, provide, became M. E. (a)*forden*, E. *afford*. *Burthen*, *murther* are now *burden*, *murder*. *D* is due to *ð* in *could*, *fiddle*, *rudder*, *spider*, *lead*, *lode*. The M. E. *breþ*, breath, gave the verb *breðen*, to breathe, where the *þ* was voiced to *ð* between two vowels. Similarly, *bath*, *loath*, *sheath*, *sooth*, *wreath*, have (th); but *bathe*, *loathe*, *sheathe*, *soothe*, *wreathe*, have (dh).

Th is lost in *wor(th)ship*; *wri(th)st*; *clothes*; A. S. *þwitel*, E. *whittle*; *thwack*, usually (wæk). Also in *Norfolk*, *Norman*, *Norway*, *Norwich*; all from *north*.

ðs > *ss*; in *bliss*, A. S. *bliss*, from *blithe*; *lissom*, from *lithe*.

§ 81. *D*. *D* > *th* (dh), *t*. M. E. *fader*, *moder* are now *father*, *mother*, either as being due to form-association with *brother*, or because they are dialectal forms. Cf. Northern *lather* for *ladder*. We have *hither*, *thither*, *whither*, *weather*, &c., where A. S. has *hider*, *ðider*, *hwider*, *weder*. Cf. E. *yard*, A. S. *geard*, with the North. E. *garth*, Icel. *garðr*.

A. S. *teld*, a tent, is E. *tilt* (of a cart); A. S. *cudele* is now *cuttle-fish* (cf. G. *Kuttelfisch*). The final *-ed* of the pp. becomes *t* in *built*, *girt*, *sent*, *kep-t*, *left-t*, *bles-t*; and disappears in *aghast*, *led*, &c. Hence *won-t*, from A. S. *wun-od*, accustomed; and even *won-t-ed* (= *won-ed-ed*), with reduplicated suffix.

D is lost in *an(d)swer*, *go(d)spel*, *woodbin(d)e*; *wanion*, formerly *waniand*; *tine*, prong of a fork, A. S. *tind*; *lime* (tree), formerly also *line*, A. S. *lind*; *upholster-er*, formerly *upholdster*; *ban(d)dog*.

D is excrescent after *n*, *l*; as in *hin-d*, a peasant, M. E. *hine*, *kin-d-red*, *len-d*, *spin-d-le*, *thun-d-er*, *gan-d-er*; also in *al-d-er* (tree), *iron-moul-d*, formerly *yron-mole*, from *mole*, A. S. *māl*, a spot, *new-fangle-d*, M. E. *newefangel*, prompt to catch at new things.

ds > ss ; in *gossip*, M. E. *godsib* ; *bless*, A. S. *bledsian*, *bletsian*, from *blood*.

82. N. *N* is often lost, in all positions ; and is even inserted, initially and finally. *N > m*, *l* (rare), *r* (rare).

N is lost in A. S. before *s* and *th* ; as in *ūs*, *us*, G. *uns* ; *gōs*, *goose*, G. *Gans*. Cf. also A. S. *eln*, *ell* ; *el-boza* for **elnboga* (Icel. *alnbogi*), *elbow* ; *gamen*, a *game*, *holegn*, *holly*, *myln*, *mill*, *mistel-tān*, *mistletoe*, (*ā*)*solcen*, *sulky* ; O. Mercian *enlefan*, *eleven* ; *fortnight*, for *fourteen-night*. Constantly in suffixes, as A. S. *beforan*, E. *before* ; and medially as in *Mōnan-dæg*, *Monday*. Initially, in *adder*, A. S. *nædre* ; *auger*, A. S. *nafe-gār*, lit. 'nave-borer.' A *nadder*, a *nauger* were misdivided as *an adder*, *an auger*.

Conversely, *n* is intrusive in *a newt*, for *an ewt*, A. S. *efete* ; *my nuncle*, for *mine uncle*. Excrecent *n* occurs after *r* in *bitter-n*, *marten*, formerly *marter-n* ; and in *stubbor-n*, probably due to misapprehending M. E. *stibor-nesse* as **stiborn-nesse*.

Nd > nn (*n*) in A. S. *windwian*, to *winnow*.

N > m before *p* or *b* ; as in A. S. *henep*, E. *hemp* ; A. S. *wīnberige*, E. *wimberry*. Also in *holm* for M. E. *holin* ; so that *holm-oak* is 'holly-oak.' Also in *lime*, for *line*, from A. S. *lind*, a *lime-tree* or *linden*. M. E. *bren-stone*, i. e. *burning-stone*, E. *brimstone*. *N > l* ; in Welsh *gwlanen*, Tudor E. *flannen*, E. *flannel*. *N > r* ; in A. S. *pinewincla*, prov. E. *peniwinkle*, E. *periwinkle*, a small mollusc, by 'confluence' with the name of a flower.

§ 83. **P.** *P > b* (rarely).

Exx. A. S. *papol*, *pebble* ; *loppestre*, *lobster* ; *dribble*, from *drip* ; *wabble*, from *whap*, to *strike*, also to *flutter* ; *knob*, for *knop*. M. E. *attor-cop*, *spider* ; whence *cop-web*, now *cob-web*.

P is excrescent after *m* in *em(p)ty*, *glim(p)se*, *sem(p)ster*.

84. F. **F** > **v**, or disappears ; **fm** > **mm**.

The Mercian *f* was probably (f) initially ; but the A. S. *f* was (v), as in our Southern dialects. We have only four words beginning with *v* that are of A. S. origin ; the rest are French. They are *vane*, *vat*, *vinewed* (mouldy), *vixen* ; and even *vat* seems to have been re-imported from Dutch. Medial *f* becomes *v*, especially in plurals, as in *leaves* from *leaf*, and in verbs, as in *believe* from *belief*, *calve* from *calf*, &c. A. S. final *f* is E. *v*, as in *glōf*, *glove* ; so also medially, as in *āfre*, *ever*.

F (f, v) is lost in Tudor E. *neeze*, A. S. *fnēosan* ; *hast*, *hath*, *had*, A. S. *hæfst*, *hæfð*, *hæfde*.

Also in A. S. *heafod*, E. *head* ; *hlāford*, E. *lord* ; *hlāfdige*, E. *lady*. A. S. *efete* became *ewt*, whence E. (n)ewt.

Fm > *mm*. A. S. *lēof-man* (dear one), later *lemman*, now *leman*, correctly (lem·n) ; *hlāfmæsse*, *hlammæsse*, *Lammas* ; *wīfmen*, M. E. *wimmen*, E. *women* (wim·in).

85. B. **B** > **p**. M. E. *god-sib*, *gossib*, E. *gossip* ; *unkembed*, *unkempt*, lit. 'uncombed.'

B is excrescent after *m*, before *l* and *r* ; in *gam-b-le*, *bram-b-le*, *nim-b-le* ; *em-b-ers*, *slum-b-er*, *tim-b-er*. *Mb* appears for final *mm* or *m* in *comb*, *crumb*, *dumb*, *thumb*, *lamb*, but is not sounded. It is heard in *thim-b-le*, from *thumb* ; *crum-b-le*, from *crumb* ; *hum-b-le-bee*, from *hum*. *Num-b* is from *num-en*, deprived of, pp. of A. S. *nim-an*, to take, catch, seize.

86. M. *M* is lost in *ousel*, A. S. *ōsle*, cognate with G. *Amsel* ; and in *soft*, A. S. *sōfte*, adv., cognate with G. *sanft*, and with O. H. G. *samfto*, softly.

Mt > *nt* ; as in A. S. *æmete*, E. *emmet*, also *ant*. Cf. *aunt*, through the O. French, from Lat. *amita*.

87. Y. The original Indo-germanic *Y* is represented in A. S. by *ge* only in a few words, viz. in the forms for *ye*, *yea*, *yes*, *year*, *yore*, *yet*, *yoke*, *yon*, *young*, *youth*; in *you*, *your*, the *g* was dropped, viz. in A. S. *ēow*, *ēower*. In many words, E. *y* (initial) comes from *g*; see § 78.

88. R. In many languages, *r* interchanges with *l*. Hence E. *smoulder*, M. E. *smolder*, may be compared with M. E. *smother*, both of which mean 'a stifling smoke.' The latter is now *smother*, with loss of *r*.

Rr > *dd*; A. S. *pearruc*, M. E. *parrok*, E. *paddock*, an enclosure. Cf. *porridge* < *poddige* < *pottage*.

R is lost in *speak*, *speech*, A. S. *sprecan*, *sprāc(e)*.

R is intrusive in *brideg(r)oom*, A. S. *brȳdguma*; and in *hoa(r)se*, A. S. *hās*. *Surf* was formerly *suffe*, apparently the same as *swough*, a rushing noise.

Metathesis of r is found in *bird*, A. S. *brid*; *burn*, from A. S. *brinnan*; *bright*, from Mercian *berht*; *cress*, A. S. *cærse*; *fresh*, A. S. *fersc*; *wright*, A. S. *wyrhta*; &c.

89. L. *L* is lost in *each*, *which*, *such*, A. S. *ælc*, *hwile*, *swylc*; and in *as*, M. E. *als*, for *also*. *England* is for *Engle-land*, A. S. *Engla-land*, land of the Angles. *L* is silent in *calf*, *half*, *calve*, *halve*, *folk*, *yolk*, *talk*, *walk*, *qualm*, &c.; and in *would*, *should*. It is needlessly inserted in *could* (*kud*). *Totter* is for prov. E. *tolter*, A. S. *tealtrian*.

90. W. The A. S. *-we*, *-wa*, is now written *-ow*; as in *arewe*, *spearwa*, now *arrow*, *sparrow*. The A. S. final *w* is absorbed; as in *treow*, *tree*, *cneow*, *knee*, *gleow*, *glee*. It is vocalised in *trēowe*, *true*; *ēow*, *you*; *hīw*, *hue*; and in *ewe*, *new*, *snow*, &c.

W is lost in *ooze*, A. S. *wōs*; *cud*, A. S. *cwidu*, later *cudu*; *four*, A. S. *fēower*; *lark* (bird), A. S. *lāwerce*; *soul*, A. S. *sāwol*. Also in *lisp*, for *wlisp*; *thong*, for *thwong*;

such, for *swich* ; *sultry*, for *sweltry* ; *so*, A. S. *swā*. It is silent in *who*, *two*, *answer*, *sword*, *write*, *wrong*, &c. It is now wrongly inserted in *whoop*, from F. *houper*, but possibly denotes a lost pronunciation ; for Tudor English occasionally changed *hō* into *whō*, as in *whole*, *whoot*, for M. E. *hool*, *hoot* ; the modern forms are *whole* (*houl*), *hot* (*hot*), in the latter of which *ō* (*ao*) has been shortened.

91. S. *S* becomes *z* medially and finally in many words, though the spelling retains *s* ; as in *dogs*, *cabs*, *rise*, *besom*, &c. French words often retain *ce* (*s*), as in *penance*, *price* ; hence *ce* for *s* in *fleece*, *ice*, &c., A. S. *flȳs*, *īs*. A. S. *sinder*, *scoria*, *slag*, is now *cinder*, by confusion with F. *cendre* ; cf. G. *Sinter*, Swed. *sinder*. *Sc* is miswritten for *s* in *scythe*, *scent*, owing to the silent *c* in *science*. *Z* is sometimes correctly written for A. S. *s* (*z*) ; as in *blaze*, *freeze*, *hazel*, *ooze*, *sneeze*, *wheeze*, *wizen* ; *brazen*, *graze*.

M. E. *ss* becomes *sh* (*sh*), as in *florissen*, to flourish, &c. ; compare *gush* from Icel. *gusa* ; *linchpin* (*linshpin*) for *linspin*, from A. S. *lynis*, axle-tree.

S > r. Exx. *are*, pl. of *is* ; *were*, pl. of *was* ; *lorn*, pp. of A. S. *lēosan* ; *frore*, for *frozen* ; *dreary*, from A. S. *drēosan*, to drip ; *hear*, Goth. *hausjan* ; *rear*, doublet of *raise*. This change comes under Verner's Law ; see § 70. So also in *bare*, cf. Lith. *basas*, bare-footed ; *berry*, Goth. *basi* ; *ear*, Goth. *auso* ; *iron*, A. S. *īren*, also *isen*.

Note that E. *dare*, A. S. *dear* (for **dearr* < **dearz*), is cognate with Goth. *dars*. The radical *s* is seen in *durst*.

In some words, an *s* has been dropped, because it sounded like a plural suffix ; as in A. S. *byrgels*, a tomb, M. E. *huriels*, whence *burial* ; A. S. *rǣdels*, M. E. *redels*, a riddle. A. S. *pisa*, pl. *pisan*, from Lat. *pisum*, whence M. E. *pese*, pl. *pesen*, *peses*, Tudor E. *pease*, pl. *peason* ; now

pea, pl. *peas*. Du. *schaats*, pl. *schaatsen*, whence *skates* (for **skateses*). But *bodice*, formerly *bodies*, in the sense of 'stays,' is really a plural. *Eaves*, *alms* are singular; A. S. *efese*, *ælmesse*.

S is lost in *paddle*, for *spaddle*, a small spade; it has been confused with a *paddle* for a boat. It is intrusive in *island*, A. S. *īg-land*, by confusion with *isle*. It is put for *f* in *sneeze*, A. S. *fnēosan*, and in *snore*, A. S. *fnora*, sb.

The prefix *s-* (F. *es-*, L. *ex-*) as seen in *squash*, O. F. *es-quacher*, has been prefixed to *queeze* (A. S. *cwēsan*, *cwisan*), thus giving *s-queeze*.

Sk. The A. S. *sc*, when followed by *e* and *i*, regularly becomes *sh*, as in *scīnan*, to shine; *sceamu*, shame. Hence it also becomes *sh* before the other vowels, occasionally; as in *scaga*, shaw (wood); *sculder*, shoulder. We also find *sh* finally, as in *fisc*, dat. *fisce*, fish; *æsc*, dat. *æsce*, ash (tree). A. S. *sc* (*sk*) remains in *scæb*, scab (yet cf. *shab-by*); but most words with (*sk*), as *skin* (Icel. *skinn*), *scale* (A. F. *escale*) are of Norse or Anglo-French origin.

St. Medial *st* > (*ss*) in *blossom*, A. S. *blōstma*; *misteltān*, mistletoe. Cf. *glisten*, *listen*, *castle*. *Mist* gives the verb **mistle*, now *mizzle*, to fall as mist.

Note. The above letter-changes chiefly refer to words of native origin. Similar changes also occur in words of French origin, but they are here, for brevity, omitted.

CHAPTER IX.

PREFIXES, SUFFIXES, AND ROOTS.

92. Prefixes. In many words we find brief prefixed syllables or remnants of syllables preceding the main or 'radical' part of the word. The student of Latin is familiar with many which are of prepositional origin, as in *ad-vert*, *circum-vent*, *com-mute*, *contra-dict*, *de-scend*, *dis-pel*, *in-clude*, *inter-dict*, *ob-long*, *pre-dict*, *preter-natural*, *pro-duce*, *retro-spect*, and the like. Similarly, in words of Greek origin, we find *anti-dote*, *cata-ract*, *dia-lect*, &c. Sometimes the form of the prefix is slightly altered by the influence of the following sound ; as when, for instance, the Latin *com-* is altered into *co-*, *col-*, &c. ; as in *co-agulate*, *col-lect*, *con-nect*, *cor-ode*. Or again, the same prefix may be so altered, in words which we have borrowed from French, as to be almost unrecognisable ; appearing as *co-* in *co-uch*, *co-st*, and as *cu-* in *cu-stom*. In practice, however, the historical spellings usually solve all difficulties, and the origin of almost every prefix is, in general, well known. A complete list of such as occur in English, with their origins, is given in the Appendix to my Concise Etymological Dictionary.

93. Suffixes. The chief of the various suffixes which appear in English may be classed as substantival, or those

which appear in substantives ; adjectival and adverbial ; and verbal. Amongst the adjectival suffixes we may class those which arise from a present or past participle.

The substantival suffixes are of three kinds, viz. (1) those like *-dom*, *-ship*, where the A. S. suffix was in itself an intelligible word ; (2) suffixes expressive of diminution ; and (3) suffixes consisting of only one or two letters, as the *-m* in *doo-m*, or *-th* in *leng-th*, some of these being double or compound.

94. (1) In the first class we have *-dom*, as in *wis-dom* ; *-hood* or *-head*, as in *man-hood*, *God-head* ; *-lock* or *-ledge*, as in *wed-lock*, *know-ledge* ; *-red* (1), as in *hat-red* ; *-red* (2), as in *hund-red* ; *-ric* as in *bishop-ric* ; *-ship*, as in *friend-ship*.

-dom is the unaccented form of A. S. *-dōm*, doom, judgment.

-hood is from A. S. *hād*, sex, degree, rank, state, &c. ; so that *man-hood* means ‘man’s estate.’ *-head* corresponds with *-hēd*, which is the O. Friesic form of the same suffix.

-lock is for M. E. *-loc*, unaccented form of *-lōc*, answering to A. S. *-lāc*, play, contest, gift, offering, &c., but also used to form abstract substantives.

-ledge is the voiced form of M. E. *-leche*, answering to Icel. *leik-r*, the Scandian word cognate with A. S. *lāc*.

-red (1) is the unaccented and clipped form of A. S. *-rāden*, a suffix signifying ‘condition,’ and akin to E. *ready*.

-red (2) meant tale or number, or reckoning, so that *hund-red* is ‘a hundred by reckoning’ ; for *hund* could also be used alone, being, in fact, the A. S. cognate of Lat. *centum*. Cf. Goth. *ga-rath-jan*, to reckon, to number.

-ric is the unaccented form of A. S. *-rīc-e*, Goth. *reik-i*, dominion.

-ship is A. S. *-scipe*, orig. ‘shape, form, mode.’ The

same suffix appears in Du. *land schap*, whence E. *landscape* was borrowed.

[-*ness* does not belong here; it is a compound suffix, -*nes-s*. Cf. Goth. *thiudi-n-as-sus*, a kingdom; *ufar-as-sus*, superfluity; in the latter of which the -*n-* does not appear.]

95. (2) Diminutival. Suffixes expressive of diminution appear in A. S. as -*c*, -*el*, -*en*, -*ing*; whence such secondary or composite forms as -*k-en*, -*l-ing*.

The simple -*c* (-*k*) appears in *stir-k*, A. S. *stȳri-c*, dimin. of *stēor*, a steer. It frequently has a preceding -*o-*, due (probably) to an original vocalic stem-ending; hence E. -*o-ck*, as in *bull-ock*, A. S. *bullu-c*. Words in -*ock* require separate investigation in each case. [*Hamm-ock*, from West-Indian *hamaca*, does not belong here.]

-*el*, or rather -*e-l* (Goth. -*i-la*), includes the Indo-Germanic suffix -*lo*; cf. Gk. *παχυ-λό-s*, rather thick, with *παχ-ύ-s*, thick. It occurs in *ax-le*; *bram-b-le*, A. S. *brēm-el*; *bund-le*, *kern-el*, *nav-el*, *nipp-le*, *nozz-le*, *pimp-le*, *runn-el*, *spang-le*, *spark-le*. Also in *cock-er-el*, *pik-er-el*, *mong-r-el*, where -*er*- (Idg. -*ro*) precedes it.

-*en* is the A. S. -*en*, Goth. -*ein-s*; it occurs in *maid-en*, *chick-en*. [*Kitten* was originally *kitoun*, of F. origin.]

-*ing*, for -*in-g*, is a compound suffix; it was used in A. S. to form patronymics, as in *Adam-ing*, the son of Adam; it also appears in E. *farth-ing* (fourth part of a penny), in E. *herr-ing*, and in the important word *k-ing*, A. S. *cyn-ing*, i. e. 'son of the kin,' or chosen of the tribe. It is now chiefly used in conjunction with -*l*, in the form -*l-ing*; as in *duck-ling*, *gos-ling*. Sometimes it has a depreciatory sense; as *wit-ling*, *world-ling*; cf. *starve-ling* (from a verb). Closely allied to this is the -*ing* in *learn-ing*.

-*k-in*, for -*k-i-n*, is usually found in words borrowed from

Middle Dutch, which had the suffix *-ken*. Hence *mannikin*, from Mid. Du. *manne-ken*, a little man.

96. (3) Other suffixes (including those of adjectival and participial origin) are due to certain primary Indo-Germanic suffixes, which may be arranged in the following order, viz. -O, -I, -U, -YO, -WO, -MO, -MI, -MEN (-MON), -MENO, -NO, -TNO, -NI, -NU, -EN (-ON), -ENT (-ONT, -NT), -LO, -LI, -RO, -TER(O), -RI, -RU, -ER (-OR), -ES (-OS), -TO, -MEN-TO, -TI, -T (-TI), -TI-ON, -TÂ-TI, -TU, -TU-TI, -TER (-TOR, -TR), -TR-O, -TUR-O, -ID (-D), -D-EN (-D-ON), -TU-D-EN, -DO, -QO (-KO), -K, -SQO (-SKO), -BHO, and a few others. A large number of these only occur in words of French, Latin, or Greek origin. The frequent appearance of gradation from -E- to -O-, as in -ES (-os), should be noticed. Thus Lat. *gen-us* stands for **gen-os* (Gk. γέν-ος), with -os; but the gen. case is *gen-er-is*, for **gen-es-is*, with -es.

Even the above list is not complete, for the forms in -o are mostly masculine and neuter; and are accompanied by feminine forms having -â for -o. Thus Lat. *pri-mu-s* (for **PRI-MO-S*) contains the suffix -mo; whilst *nor-mâ-lis*, normal, contains the fem. suffix -mâ and the suffix LI.

97. The above list can only be fully understood from an exhibition and comparison of a large number of examples, including words borrowed from classical sources. For illustrating the use of suffixes of this character, it is sufficient to take a couple of examples. For this purpose I select the suffixes -mo and -to, as being both useful and well-marked.

-MO. This appears as -m in native words. Thus E. *doo-m* is A. S. *dō-m*; cf. Goth. *do-m-s*, dat. case *do-ma*, stem *dô-ma* (for *dômo*, because Goth. *a* answers to Idg. (Indo-Germanic) o); see above. For -mo, Gk. here has -mi, viz. in the

cognate word *θέμις*, law, that which is set or established ; from the weak grade of the root DHE, to put, place, set, whence E. *do*. Other words containing this suffix are *bea-m*, *bos-om*, *bott-om* (A. S. *bot-m*), *drea-m*, *fath-om* (A. S. *fæð-m*), *fil-m*, *foa-m*, *glea-m*, *gloo-m*, *hal-m*, a stalk, *hel-m*, a helmet, *hol-m*, *li-me*, *loa-m*, *qual-m*, *sea-m*, *stea-m*, *stor-m*, *strea-m*, *swar-m*, *tea-m*. In *broom*, *harm*, the *m* is not a suffix, but radical.

In words of Lat. or F. origin, we have *pri-me*, *extre-me*, *supre-me* ; *for-m*, *fu-me*. *To-me* (volume) and *thy-me* are Greek. *Plu-me* exhibits the fem. suffix -MÂ ; and so do *di-me*, *fa-me*.

It is worth notice that such a suffix is frequently found in company with others. Thus the Lat. *infirmus* (for **infir-mo-s*) has the derivative *infir-mi-tas*, where -*mi-* is a weakened form of -*mo-*. In this way we still recognise this suffix in such words as *infir-mi-ty*, *pri-mi-tive* ; and its fem. form in *an-i-ma-ted*, *for-ma-l*, *for-ma-tive*, *fa-m-ous*.

Even in the E. word *utmost*, the suffix -*most* is a mistaken substitution for the A. S. -*m-est* in *ūt-e-m-est* ; and this -*m-est* is really a double superlative ; the -*m-* being identical in origin with the -*m-* in Lat. *primus*. The same is true of *fore-most*, *hind-most*, *in-most*, *lower-most*, *upper-most*, &c.

98. -TO. This suffix appears in Gk. *κλυτός*, renowned, which has already been noticed in § 69, as having the accent on the latter syllable, in consequence of which, by Verner's Law, the corresponding A. S. word is not *hlū-ð*, but *hlū-d*, E. *lou-d*. This is only one out of hundreds of instances ; for we have here to do with the suffix so common in Lat. past participles, as in *amā-tus* (for **amā-to-s*), loved. The corresponding past participial

suffix in E. is *-d*, as in *dea-d*, A. S. *dēa-d*, Goth. *dau-th-s* (Gothic not being subject to Verner's Law), orig. a past participle. But this *-d* is very often preceded by an *-e-*, which arose from a part of the stem of a weak verb; thus A. S. *lōc-i-an*, to look, a weak verb, had the pp. *lōc-o-d*, where the *-o-* is part of the verbal stem. This became *look-e-d* in M. E., and remains as *looked*, usually pronounced *look't* (lukt); where, by the accident of the combination of *kt* (for *kđ*), the mod. E. *t*-sound is the same as the Idg. sound; and, in such words as *burn-t*, *learn-t*, the *t*-sound is acknowledged in the spelling. The circle has here, in fact, been completed. We began with *τ*, which became *th* (as in Gothic) by Grimm's Law; the *th* became *d* (in A. S.) by Verner's Law; and the *d* has become *t* by the influence of the preceding voiceless *k*, or of other preceding consonants. It must be carefully remembered that the final *-d* of the E. pp. (very often preceded by *-e*, because all the verbs that take it are weak) is due to the Idg. suffix *-to*. This is the more noteworthy, because the final *-e-d* of past tenses has a totally different origin (being due to a decayed form of the word *did*); and the likeness, which seems so obvious, between the suffix of the pt. t. and that of the pp., is purely delusive. Thus the Gothic for 'we sent' is *sandi-dedum* (= send-did); but the pp. 'sent' of the same verb *sandjan* (= **sand-i-an*) is *sandi-th-s*, where *-s* is the nom. suffix. Even in A. S. we see a difference between the trisyllabic pt. t. *luf-o-de*, he loved, and the dissyllabic pp. *luf-o-d*, loved; and in M. E. this distinction was long preserved.

From what has preceded, it will readily be perceived, or it may with a little pains be discovered, that the Idg. *-to* appears in the following words:—

(1) Regularly, by Grimm's Law, as *-th* ; in *bir-th*, *bro-th*, *ear-th*, *mon-th*, *ru-th*, *weal-th* ; *heal-th*, *leng-th*, *streng-th*, *wid-th* ; &c.

(2) Regularly, by Verner's Law, as *-d* ; in *brea-d*, *broo-d*, *hea-d* (Goth. *haubiths*), *moo-d*, *threa-d*, *war-d* ; also in *bol-d*, *col-d*, *dea-d*, *lou-d*, *nak-e-d*, and in all past participles in *-c-d*.

(3) In the original Idg. unchanged form *-t*, being preserved by a preceding *f*, *gh*, *n*, *r*, *s* ; as in *craft-t*, *gift-t*, *haft-t* ; *drough-t*, *ligh-t*, *though-t* ; *brun-t* ; *har-t* ; *east-t*, *fros-t* : or the *-t* reappears, after three changes, as in *learn-t*.

(4) In words of Lat., Gk. or F. origin ; as in *ac-t*, *fac-t*, *tac-t* ; *sec-t*, from the fem. *-tâ*, as also in *vi-ta-l*, *simul-taneous*, *poe-ti-cal*. The Lat. pp. *-tus* may become *-sus*, as in *mis-sus* (for **mit-tus*) ; this is the origin of the second *s* in *mis-si-on*, of the *s* in *man-si-on*, and of the *s*-sound in the *x* of *noxi-ous* ; cf. Lat. *nox-a* (= **noc-sa*) with *noc-ere*, to hurt. The common suffix *-ment*, as in *argu-men-t*, is compounded of the suffixes *-MEN-* and *-TO*. The Lat. suffix *-MEN* appears as *-μα* in Greek ; and *-MEN-T* appears as *-μα-τ* ; hence E. *proble-ma-ti-cal*, *schis-ma-ti-c*, and many other words with like endings.

99. Adjectival and Adverbial suffixes. The chief adjectival suffixes (exclusive of those in § 96) are those seen in *stead-fast*, *shame-faced* (a mistaken form of *shame-fast*), *two-fold*, *hate-ful*, *fear-less*, *man-ly*, *win-some*, *for-ward*, *right-eous* (a mistaken form of M. E. *right-wis*, A. S. *riht-wis*), *stal-wart* (for *stal-worth*). Of these, *fast*, *fold*, *full*, *wise*, *worth* also occur as independent words.

-less. The A. S. form is *-lēas*, also used as an independent word, with the sense of *loose*. In fact, *loose* represents the Icel. *laus-s* (where the latter *s* is the nom. suffix), which is cognate with the A. S. *lēas*. Further, the

A. S. suffix *-lēas* became M. E. *-lees*; but the *ee* was soon shortened, owing to lack of stress. [The comp. adj. *less* is a different word.]

-ly. The A. S. suffix was *-lic*, unaccented form of *-līc*, like. Thus *man-ly* meant 'man-like.' The adverbial A. S. suffix was *-lic-e*, which coalesced with the adj. form in the M. E. period.

-some. The A. S. form was *-sum*, an unaccented form of our word *same* (Icel. *-sam-r*). Hence *lis-som*, for *lithe-some*; *buxom*, M. E. *buh-som*, from A. S. *būg-an*, to bow, to yield.

-ward; A. S. *-weard*, turned towards; from the stem seen in A. S. *weard*, pt. t. of *weorð-an*, to become, to be turned to. Cf. Lat. *uert-i*, *uer-sus* (for **uert-tus*).

-wart. Only in *stal-wart*, formerly *stal-worth*; from A. S. *stǣl-wyrðe*, contracted from **staðol-wyrðe*, where *staðol* means 'foundation' or 'base'; see Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 202. The suffix *-worth* is closely allied to E. *worth-y*.

Among the adverbial suffixes we may note those seen in *on-ly*, *head-long*, *piece-meal*, *back-ward* or *back-wards*, *like-wise*, *al-ways*. Here, *meal*, *wise* (manner) and *way* are independent words. Also, *-ly* is the A. S. *-lice* (above); and *-ward* is the same as in *for-ward* (see above), but an adverbial *-s*, originally a genitival case-suffix (as in *need-s*), was afterwards appended; hence the form *for-ward-s*.

Head-long, M. E. *hed-ling*, has a suffix parallel to that in A. S. *eal-ling-a*, later form of *eal-lung-a*, correctly divided as *eall-ung-a*, formed from *eall*, all, with the suffix seen in A. S. *ān-ung-a*, altogether, orig. the gen. pl. of *ān-ung*, a uniting. This *ān-ung* is formed from *ān*, one, with the noun-suffix *-ung*, very common in A. S. and still written *-ung* in German; but in mod. E. it has been turned into *-ing* (§ 95), and is frequently confused with the pres. part.

in *-ing*, with which it had originally no connection whatever. Even A. S. has *-ing* for *-ung*; as in *leorn-ing*, sb., learning, distinct from the pres. pt. *leorn-igende*.

In the word *piece-meal*, we have the only example left of A. S. *-mælum*, by bits, orig. the dat. pl. of *mæl*, a portion, still preserved in E. *meal*, a repast at a regular time.

Other adverbial suffixes are *-s*, *-se*, or *-ce*, as in *need-s*, *el-se*, *twi-ce*; *-er* in *ev-er*; *-om* in *whil-om*. Of these, the first is due to A. S. *-s*, a suffix common in the gen. sing. of sbs.; the second, to A. S. *-re*, a suffix common in the gen. and dat. fem. of adjectives; and the last to A. S. *-um*, as seen in A. S. *hwil-um*, dat. pl. of *hwil*, a time.

100. Verbal suffixes. The verbal suffixes of native origin are not numerous. They are: *-en* or *-n*, as in *awak-en*, *daw-n*; *-k*, as in *wal-k*; *-le* or *-l*, as in *pratt-le*, *draw-l*; *-er*, as in *glimm-er*; and *-se*, as in *clean-se*.

The *-n* in *daw-n* originally signified 'becoming.' Thus the Goth. *full-s* meant *full*; *full-j-an* meant 'to make full,' 'to fill'; but *full-n-an* meant 'to become full.' The *n* is due to the suffix *-en* of the pp. of strong verbs, as in *fall-en*; which was from the Idg. suffix *-no*. Cf. Gk. *στυγνός*, hateful, hated, from *στυγείν*, to hate. To *daw-n* means 'to become day,' from A. S. *dæg*, day. So also *drow-n*, orig. to become drenched or drunken; *faw-n*, to become *fain* (cf. Icel. *feg-inn*, pleased, orig. a pp.); *lear-n*, to become experienced; *ow-n*, to possess, from *ow-n*, originally a pp., that which is possessed.

But in a great many cases the original passive sense was lost; and *-en* was ultimately accepted in a very different sense, viz. for forming causal verbs. Hence, mod. E. *weak-en* means 'to make weak'; and so in many other cases. The intransitive sense remains in *glist-en*,

list-en, and sometimes in *sick-en*, *slack-en*, and some others. *Op-en*, *rott-en*, were, originally, true past participles; and *rott-en* has hardly, as yet, become a verb.

The *-k* in *wal-k* appears to give a slight frequentative force; the orig. sense was 'to keep rolling about'; from the root *WAL* seen in Skt. *val*, to move to and fro; cf. Russ. *val-iate*, to roll, Lat. *uoluere*. Other words with suffixed *-k* are *har-k*, *hear-k-en*, *hur-k*, *scul-k* or *skul-k*, *smir-k* (allied to *smile*), *stal-k*.

The suffixes *-le* and *-er* are frequentative. Thus to *pratt-le* means 'to prate often'; and to *glimm-er* means 'to keep on gleaming,' also 'to gleam faintly.' Many such words are of imitative origin; as *babb-le*, *cack-le*, *crack-le*, *gagg-le*, *gigg-le*, *gugg-le*, &c. *Draw-l*, is from *draw*; *mew-l*, from *mew*; *glitt-er*, from a base *GLIT*, to shine (Goth. *glit-munjan*, to shine). But some verbs in *-le* are merely formed from sbs.; as, e. g., the verb to *gird-le*.

The suffix *-se* (A. S. *-sian*, Icel. *-sa*) has a causal force; *clean-se* (A. S. *clæn-sian*) is 'to make clean.' *Rin-se*, F. *rin-se-r*, is of Scand. origin; cf. Icel. *hreín-sa*, to cleanse, from *hreinn*, clean. It occurs also in *clasp*, *grasp*, both formed by metathesis from such forms as *clap-sen* (Chaucer), *grap-sen* (Hoccleve); cf. *clip*, to embrace, and *grap-ple*.

The Goth. form of this suffix is *-is-on*, where *-on* is a causal verbal suffix, and *-is* is a substantival suffix (Idg. *-es*).

101. Roots. The root of a given word in any Indo-Germanic language may be defined as the original monosyllabic element which remains after the word has been stripped of everything of the nature of prefixes and formative suffixes. For a general discussion of roots, see

Whitney's *Language and the Study of Language*, 2nd ed. 1868, pp. 254-276. Whitney takes the case of the word *irrevocable*, and shews that *ir-* (for *in*, not), and *re-*, again, are prefixes; whilst *-able* (Lat. *-a-bi-li-s*) is made up of suffixes; so that the root of the word, in its Latin form, is *voc-* or *uoc-*. The latter form is preferable, as it is the usual form in MSS., arising from the fact that the pronunciation of the initial consonant was originally like that of E. *w*, though it afterwards had the sound of *v*, as in Italian. The fate of the Germanic *w* was much the same; though still retained in English and in some Low-German dialects, it usually has, on the continent, the sound of *v*. The sense of the root *uoc-* (for WOQ) seems to have been 'to speak,' the majority of roots having a verbal force.

If we now take the case of the word *ep-ic*, we find it to be of Greek origin, and derived from a root $\epsilon\pi-$, appearing in $\epsilon\pi-\sigma$, a word, and in the aorist-form $\epsilon\pi-\sigma\nu$, I said. Thus the root of *ep-ic* appears in the Gk. $\epsilon\pi-$, to speak. It is found that the Gk. habit was to drop an initial *w*, and the original form of this root was *wεπ-*, or *φεπ-*, where the archaic symbol *φ*, called 'digamma,' represents the same sound as the E. *w*. By § 62 we see that a Gk. π may arise from an Idg. Q (or 'velar' K); so that the true original form of the root may have been the Idg. WEQ. This is confirmed by further comparison; and the ultimate conclusion is that there was an Idg. root WEQ, signifying 'to speak,' which was the origin of Gk. $\epsilon\pi-\sigma$, a word, and of E. *ep-ic* (a word borrowed from Greek). The Skt. *vach*, to speak, is from the same source. The system of Indo-Germanic gradation shews that the vowel of such a root may appear in Latin either as a short *o* or a long one; so

that, in fact, we may also refer to the grades WOQ and WÔQ, from the same root, not only the Lat. *uoc-are*, to call (whence E. *ir-re-voc-able*), but also the Lat. sb. *uox*, a voice, from the accusative form of which, viz. *uōc-em*, was derived the Anglo-French word *vois* and the E. *voice*.

102. Further analysis and comparison shews that a very large portion of the vocabulary, not of English only, but of the Idg. languages in general, may be ultimately referred to quite a small number of Idg. roots, most of which are verbal. Other roots, as far as we can at present trace them, appear to be substantival; whilst a few are pronominal, numeral (relating to numbers), or prepositional. The whole number of roots hitherto traced in English (inclusive of words borrowed from other Idg. languages) is about 460; and it is found that even this small number is quite sufficient to furnish forth an extremely full and exuberant vocabulary. The number of derivatives from a given root is sometimes very large. The number of verbal roots of native English origin is estimated by Fick (in the new edition of Webster's Dictionary) at 178; leaving about 280 to be accounted for as occurring in words borrowed (mainly) from Greek and Latin.

103. It is often useful to endeavour to trace a word up to the original form of the root, not merely as a matter of curiosity, but because it tends to check the accuracy of the methods employed, to eliminate errors, and to reveal unsuspected connections. Sometimes this process reveals the original meaning, from which later meanings were evolved, and throws a flood of light upon the order of successive ideas connected with the root and its derivatives. This remark may serve to emphasise the chief fact which

it is the object of the present Primer to exemplify, viz. that all true etymology is historical, and rests upon careful deductions from actual known forms. Without evidence there can be no etymology; all that can be done, when the evidence fails or is insufficient, is to make valueless suggestions. Moreover, in scientific etymology, there is no room left for opinion, unless we should care to accept that of some expert in cases of unusual difficulty. Such cases are, however, best left alone; and it is our wisdom to be contented with such results as can fairly be proved, and are universally accepted by competent scholars, irrespectively of the men who first explained them.

THE END.



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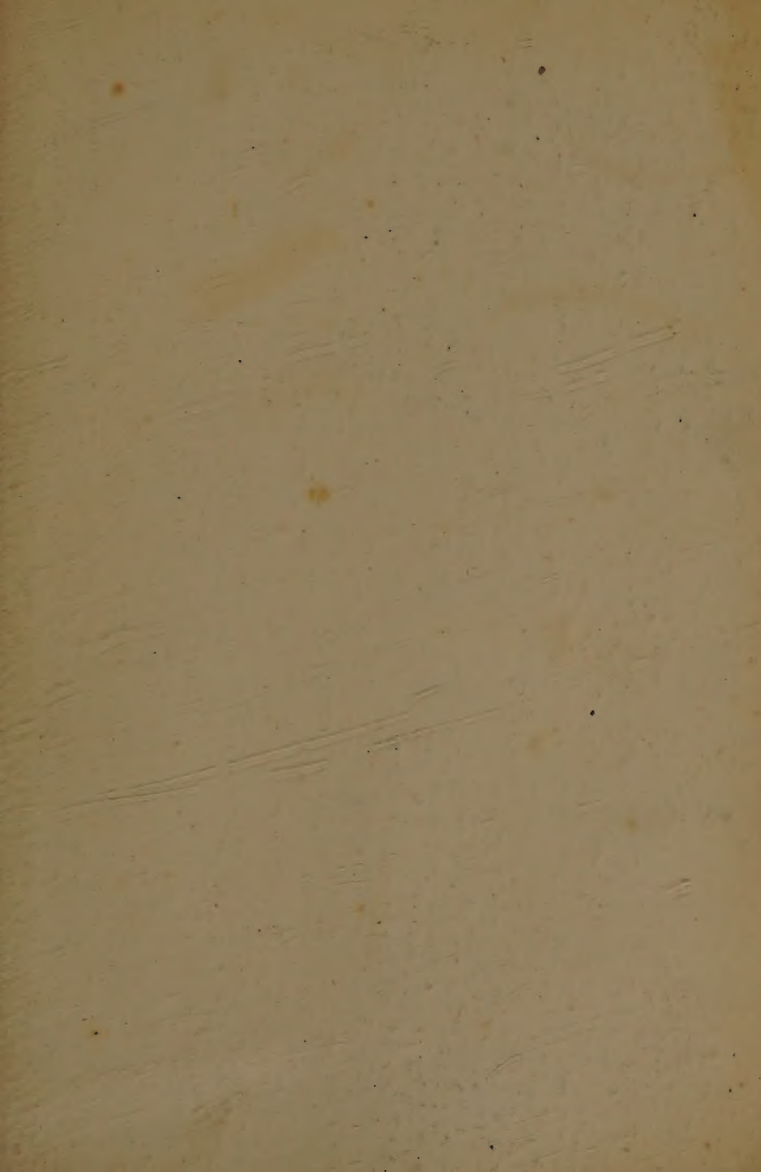
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